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THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE

WHERE the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;
Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls ;
Where words come out from the depth of truth ;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection ;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary'
desert sand of dead habit ;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and
action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE

BY

VIOLET R. MARKHAM

AUTHOR OF

SOUTH AFRICA, PAST AND PRESENT; THE NEW ERA IN SOUTH AFRICA

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TO

A BELOVED MEMORY

I must express my thanks to the Editor of the *Westminster Gazette* for his kind permission to republish certain portions of this book which have already appeared in his newspaper.

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PART I

TRAVEL SKETCHES

CHAPTER I

CAPE TOWN REVISITED

Yesterday you had a song
I could not choose but hear ;
'Twas ' Oh to be in England
Now that April 's there !'
But I have found a new refrain
I cannot choose but sing ;
'Tis ' Oh to be in Africa
Now Summer 's on the wing !'

PERCIVAL GIBBON.

FOUR A.M. in Table Bay on a mild spring morning in October ; the harbour a blaze of lights ahead ; to the right, the vast bulk of the Lion's Head looming up indistinctly in the darkness. But of the great rock which dominates the harbour, its glory and its pride, no glimpse can be obtained, for a south-easter is blowing and the heavy cloud known as the 'table-cloth' hangs low over Table Mountain. Even as I look, solitary occupant of the deck at that early hour—for the sea has played rough and tumble through the night with the good ship and her passengers—another squall drives up, obliterating harbour lights, shipping, and the dim outline of the land. The ship, full of turmoil and strange noises, lurches uneasily at her anchor. The tugs are alongside and the mails are already going overboard. We had seen those battered canvas bags

last at Southampton when their arrival marked for some of us the irrevocable moment of departure. What hopes and fears, what joys and sorrows, what tidings good and ill lie hidden within their recesses ! Romance has not fled from the world with the posting stage and the pack horse. Romance is a matter of the heart, not of picturesque accessories. The swift shuttle of modern communication, weaving in and out among arctic snows and tropical sands, knitting the world of men and women together with a closeness and intimacy unknown before our generation, is full of mystery and suggestion. Some letters, as they disappear over the side in this chill hour before the dawn, have reached their journey's end ; others have yet to be borne for hundreds of miles into the dim recesses of the continent—one must sojourn in an outpost to realise the tragedy of disappointment when the mail brings no word or sign from distant England.

A soft rain beats in my face as I listen to the creaking winches, the very outlines of the great ship seem lost in the all-enveloping grey mist. A wet welcome, but it is powerless to daunt the thrill of joy with which I look through the darkness to where the shore must lie. For this is South Africa—land as dear to some children of her adoption as to her own native born. What matter if for the moment she veil her face ?—for seen or unseen the Table Rock is near at hand, and once again I have felt the presence of the mountain from which I had parted sadly on a sunset evening some thirteen years since, as the war cloud burst over the land. But its word of farewell to me then was an assurance of return, and in fullness of time that return had come. Some countries are like some people : at a touch the gulf of years vanishes. There is hardly

a question of the picking up of threads, for the threads have never been broken. Necessarily, as I told myself, it must be a return to many changes of conditions and circumstances. But the old alluring charm, the primary appeal of colour, space, and distance, the indescribable something of personality and atmosphere which is the spell of South Africa—all that could know no change. Even in the darkness and the mist it reaches out and takes me to itself again with an amazing sense of comfort. There are some who hate Africa, who call her a heartless jade, who fly from her great spaces in horror and dread. But for others she is the eternal feminine among the nations; ever alluring, ever fascinating, the more beloved for that very contrariness which makes the unexpected and the unforeseen the only sure thing on which one may reckon in her. Distracting she is assuredly, dull never. You must not expect from her the more placid virtues of the hearth. But the light of the Great Adventure is in her eyes and she wears a crown unknown to the younger nations whose lines have fallen in happier places—the crown of suffering. Her feet have trodden the royal road of pain, and tarried in the kingdom of sorrow. But it may be that such discipline, such bitter experience, will win for her children in the end power and wisdom not granted to her sister States. I take another look at the dim lights emerging once more as the squall passes; then I go below well content. The first greetings are over; a friendship old and dear is renewed.

The grey dawn had melted into glorious sunshine before I woke to find we had glided into dock. On deck there was the indescribable confusion of passengers full of unnecessary bustle preparing to go ashore, and

collecting their belongings with a harassed air. It is apparently part of the ritual of landing to get up before it is light, dress with uncomfortable haste, and then roam round the ship at a loose end asking questions about luggage from distracted stewards and long-shore men. The old hands know better. They are not to be lured out of bed at such uncomfortable hours, and eat their breakfasts in peace before coping with the business of the day, which presents very few difficulties, thanks to the suave and courteous gentlemen who see one's luggage and oneself ashore—for a consideration. But an unusual and Oriental atmosphere pervades the *Saxon* this morning, and we assist at a scene not common on the arrival of the mail-boat, one which, before we have set foot on land, thrusts a serious South African problem to the fore. We had brought with us a distinguished Indian statesman, the Hon. Gopal Gokhale, member of the Viceroy's Council, who had come to investigate the thorny question of the position of Asiatic subjects of the Crown in South Africa. Mr. Gokhale is a striking product of the grafting of Western education on the old Eastern civilisation. In his own person he raises the whole problem of modern India, and her position within the Empire. A man of the highest culture, possessing immense influence in his own land, he had been a popular and well-liked passenger on board the *Saxon*, where his distinction of mind and simplicity of manner had won him many friends. A capital thrower of deck quoits, and a ready sharer in the other small amusements with which passengers on a mail steamer fill their days, Mr. Gokhale's presence had proved that whatever the gulfs of race, there are bridges of courtesy and education by which they can be spanned. The racial problems of the future

are well-nigh insoluble unless thoughtful men and women of all races can learn to show some sort of sympathetic appreciation of each other's varying stand-points. The quiet gentleman of the voyage had become a high Indian official in Eastern dress when we met that last morning. His own countrymen had arrived in force to welcome him, and after the manner of their race had brought numerous bouquets and garlands of flowers with which to do him honour. Among contemporary Indians few men rank more highly than the founder of the 'Servants of India Society,' a semi-religious body which in aim and ideals recalls the purest aspirations of the Franciscans. The crowd of eager Oriental faces on deck, no less than the rows and rows of red tarbouches gathered on the quay, was some index of the strength of the Asiatic and Mohammedan element in Cape Town alone. A flower-decked landau with four horses carried away our late fellow-passenger in state amid the cheers of the crowd. It says much for the universal liking and esteem felt on board for Mr. Gokhale that this demonstration, raising as it did some of the most acute of South African prejudices, passed off without criticism or comment from the Europeans who looked on.

Mr. Gokhale and the flower-wreathed landau having driven away, the crowds dispersed; and we, in turn protesting entire innocence of dutiable goods in our possession, struggled through the customs and found ourselves on shore. My first impression as I scanned the old familiar scene was that everything remained curiously unchanged. Straight ahead the great Table Rock, flanked by the rump-like Lion's Head to the right and the more jagged Devil's Peak to the left, enfolds the town as it were with a horseshoe of mountains.

Never was a city set about with guardian heights more inviolable, more beautiful. The lower slopes are covered with trees, but little by little the oaks and the pines yield place to the purple rocks raising their crests against the blue sky. To the left of Table Bay, the Cape Flats stretch across the neck of the peninsula in the direction of False Bay, less white and shining perhaps than of old, for cultivation and the friendly wattle are reducing these shifting sands to solidity. In the far distance lies the beautiful Hottentots' Holland mountain, an off-shoot of the great Drakensberg range, which, to South Africa's undoing as regards navigable rivers, encircles her coasts from the Cape almost to the banks of the Zambesi. Between this country and Canada with her magnificent system of water-ways how vast a difference—a difference which has expressed itself in countless varying forms on the lives of the two nations! South African history has been in a large measure the product of the great plateau which monopolises all the land save the coast fringe. These barrier mountains proved for many years an arresting influence both in exploration and development. In the early nineteenth century, the interior of South Africa was practically unknown; whereas the Jesuit Fathers in the seventeenth century had already penetrated along the St. Lawrence and the great lakes far into the heart of the American continent. To the old Dutch settlers these mountains presented the Ultima Thule of civilisation; hence their quaint name—the Holland, or the country to which the Hottentots were welcome.

One change is obvious as soon as one sets foot on shore—the improved condition of the roads. Adderley Street, no longer the ploughed field of my recollection,

boasts wood pavement and an even surface. The old dusty tram road to Sea Point has been converted into an imposing thoroughfare. Sea Point itself and Camps Bay farther along have expanded beyond recognition. The Twelve Apostles look down on the Victoria Road as of old, but bungalows and villas by the dozen have established themselves between the mountains and the shore. Natural features such as these are little affected by man's vagaries, and in one sense a city of kraals or of palaces would look much the same in such surroundings. But any traveller who remembers the pre-war conditions soon becomes conscious of a great change in Cape Town. Of the war itself here, as indeed in every other part of Africa, no trace remains. It seems incredible that within a term of years relatively so brief, every sign of the legions poured by thousands and tens of thousands into the land should be wiped out. Archæological researches at Green Point and Wynberg—two of the large camps—would probably result in the discovery of a certain number of old tins and pots, but even for these signs you would have to go and search diligently. Ladysmith, as though to demonstrate how true was the tale of its valour and sufferings, has kept unrepaired the shattered clock-tower of its town hall, but this instance is unique. The marks of the struggle are on the lives of the people; they must be sought in the new spirit abroad in the land.

Of that new spirit I became conscious during the first half-hour in Cape Town. I had left a sleepy, rather untidy colonial town; I returned to a brisk and energetic city. One has the feeling that everything has become more spruce and vigorous, that time is of importance, that the saying 'to-morrow is also a day'

does not hold good to the same degree as of yore. The outstanding impression is one of cleaning up. The old dusty dilapidated look has gone. The crazy-looking telegraph poles, tree-trunks all sizes and shapes, have given place to neat iron standards. The roads are broad, well paved, and kept wonderfully clean. In Adderley Street, the old Heerengracht—which stretches from the great oak avenue of the Gardens—that splendid heritage of the Dutch pioneers—to the blue waters of the Bay, there is a jumble of architectural styles, but individual buildings are new and spacious, if not beautiful. I do not pretend that the change is altogether an advantage. A good deal of individuality—something that in old days was essentially South African—has necessarily been sacrificed. Modern life has a tendency to stereotype the conditions under which it lives. Probably the spirit of nationality which crops out nowadays in so many places is a protest, and a valuable protest, against forces which tend to pour us all into the same moulds. Many of us, were we given the chance, would readily barter Adderley Street to-day, with its excellent shops and efficient tram service, for a sight of the old Heerengracht, with its canals and Dutch houses with wide stoeps raised high above the pavement to avoid wash-outs from the mountain rains. Even the native population seems less distinctive than of old. I looked in vain for the minute cream-coloured hansom-cabs, with their gorgeous Malay drivers, which formerly plied for hire. In their place were the taxi and the motor horn. Even the Malay women have to a great extent laid aside the brilliant shawls and scarves which in old days gave such a welcome splash of colour to the drab streets. Progress has arrived, and we

must make the best of it in Cape Town as elsewhere. It is impossible, though, not to regret the failure to turn such unique natural conditions to the best advantage. Table Bay is practically lost to Cape Town so far as the amenities of life are concerned. One side was necessarily occupied by the docks; but to the east, through lack of foresight, the ugly utilities of the railway have been allowed to monopolise the foreshore to its utter ruin, and to damage no less seriously the fine old fortress known as the Castle. It is necessary to penetrate among the old Dutch homesteads in the neighbourhood of Paarl, Drakenstein, Stellenbosch, Somerset West, to realise how much South Africa owes in historical tradition to the early Dutch settlers. One welcome change is the enhanced interest taken by South Africans themselves in the natural and architectural beauties of their land, especially in the old Colonial houses which lend such a gracious and mellow touch to the South-west district of the Cape Province.

Table Bay in the eighteenth century was a great meeting place for shipping, and the delightful and suggestive name for Cape Town—‘The Tavern of the Ocean’—dates from that period. In old days Cape Town must have been remarkable for the fine residences of the better-class Dutch. One characteristic house of this period still survives in Strand Street; the residence of the late Mrs. Koopmans de Wet, whose recent death has broken one of the last links with the old order in South Africa. Mrs. Koopmans, a great lady of the *ancien régime*, held a unique position, thanks to her high character and intelligence, among the old Cape families. A national movement was set on foot to conserve her house and its art treasures

intact for the country, and the effort fortunately has been brought to a successful conclusion. The co-operation of British and Dutch art lovers in this matter is yet another instance of the change which, little by little, is coming over the animosities of South Africa. Passionately identified with the extreme ideals of Dutch nationality, Mrs. Koopmans lived to see the Union of South Africa brought about on other lines than those she may have cherished. In the new South Africa there is room for all who have loved and served the land, whatever expression that love and service may have taken, and in a happier future the old house in Strand Street will be a common heritage for both races. It is earnestly to be hoped that with this more vigilant spirit abroad, no further vandalisms will be permitted as regards the destruction of old buildings which lent a touch of distinction even to the shabby Cape Town of old days. I am one of those who even regret the coming disappearance of the Georgian ugliness of the existing Cathedral which is to make place for a modern successor. Each age has its own artistic and architectural expression, and the Early Victorian expression may be interesting when we get far enough away from it. It is difficult to judge of the ultimate appearance of the new Cathedral from the fragment which has been erected. Though cool and spacious within, the high Gothic windows seem out of place when transplanted from the land of grey skies and fleeting sunshine to the perpetual glare and warmth of a sub-tropical latitude. It contains one monument before which many English visitors as well as South African residents linger with affection and regard. Here among many memorials of the war hangs the brass which commemorates the life and work of Edmund Garrett,

once Editor of the *Cape Times*, true 'Ritter von dem Heiligen Geist' than whom no more pure and noble soul ever lived and served.

Where e'er I fall, like yonder ripped
Old elm, there lay me ; so but one
Small brass hang where the solemn crypt
Gives respite from the Cape Town sun,
Hard by the hurrying street, alive
With strength and youth : 'tis all I claim,
That where the heart is, there survive
The dust and shadow of a name.

His spirit speaks in his own words from the brass, but the influence of his life and work must be looked for in the hearts of those he touched to higher issues, nobler ends.

Cape Town has but recently emerged from a period of great depression following on the land boom which took place within three or four years of the war. A mania for speculation in house property and real estate seized on the people, and land-values were run up to an absurd price. Then came the inevitable reaction, bringing loss and depression in its train. The community met its reverses in a firm spirit, and to-day prosperity reigns anew. A higher standard, a bigger spirit, is the key-note of the new South Africa. For those who have ears to hear, it dominates the shrill tones of party warfare. The uncertainties and insecurities of the old days have gone—the troubled times when men knew not whether to look to the north or to the south for the great principles of their political being. Separation, discord, diverse racial development, mutual charges of cowardice and contempt—such were the outstanding features of the Africa with which I was once familiar. Union has come now—come through blood and tears ; but it has wrought a revolution

in the whole habit of thought and outlook in the land. It would be too much to ask and to expect that on the morrow of such a conflict perfect peace and amity should exist between the combatants of yesterday. Political and racial questions still run high ; of alarms and excursions we have had of late not a few. Even so, the strong men on both sides have shaken hands, and have settled down to a common task with mutual goodwill. Generally speaking, when bitterness crops out it is not among those who bore the heat and burthen of the struggle, but among those who looked on. From the heart of this great change one becomes conscious that two new factors have emerged : the new factor of security, of a nation with its feet on solid ground ; and the new factor of mutual respect.

CHAPTER II

THE MOUNTAIN AND THE CAPITAL

And soon we emerged
 From the plain, where the woods could scarce follow;
 And still as we urged
 Our way, the woods wondered, and left us,
 As up still we trudged
 Though the wild path grew wilder each instant,
 And place was e'en grudged
 Mid the rock-chasms and piles of loose stones
 Like the loose broken teeth
 Of some monster which climbed there to die
 From the ocean beneath.
 . . . God's own profound
 Was above me, and round me the mountains,
 And under, the sea,
 And within me, my heart to bear witness
 What was and shall be.

ROBERT BROWNING.

ONE of the changes in South Africa since the war is that she has realised her possession of a beach. The seaside counted for very little in the affairs of Cape Colony and Natal in old days. The coast was there, and a certain number of people came to it, but no particular effort was made at that time to cater for visitors. Now every railway-station along the line through the Union of South Africa is gay with brilliant-coloured advertisements and delectable pictures setting forth the joys of Durban, East London, Algoa Bay, Muizenberg, and Sea Point. Unless you go

enormities of the Union buildings have been poured out to him at length—the abominable waste of money by which Pretoria on the eve of Union forced the hand of the rest of South Africa, while the Cape Colony was practising all the virtues of thrift and economy. Needless to add, the Pretoria view of the story is a very different one. Perhaps the long-headed men of the north wanted something in hand with which to bargain as against Groote Schuur—the asset of a Prime Minister's residence secured to the Cape by Mr. Rhodes's will. Geographically and from the point of view of train service, Bloemfontein may murmur that her claims to house the capital were irresistible. But that hot little city set in a dusty plain was in no position to carry off such a prize. So the Union Government goes on trek, and in the hot January days packs up its papers and departs to the coast. A trip to the seaside, with some legislative duties thrown in, does not seem a particularly hard lot for the South African politician, though doubtless our English officials would give up the ghost if requested to conduct their business with Whitehall as far removed from Westminster as, roughly speaking, London is from Rome. On the whole the compromise does not work badly, each town being satisfied that the other has had the worst of a poor bargain. The cash value of the permanent Civil Service against that of the peripatetic Legislature has been reduced almost to actuarial tables. To the onlooker the whole controversy wears a slightly farcical air; but this sharp collision between the ambitions of the coast and those of the inland towns bears witness to a spirit not favourable to the best interests of South Africa. The fear which secretly haunts many a Cape Town resident is that some-day Pretoria, backed by all the influence of

Johannesburg, will, so to speak, snatch the Parliament and set it down on Meintjes Kop behind the great buildings designed by Mr. Herbert Baker. The fear seems somewhat far-fetched, and even so the remedy lies in the hands of Cape Town itself. It is up to that city, as the Americans say, to make the stay of the Parliament so delectable that no one would ever desire such a change. Not for nothing, surely, should the Cape Peninsula possess thirty miles of the most glorious rock and mountain and coast scenery in the world. And from the residential point of view, the Cape Town suburbs which wind round the slopes of the mountain have no equal in South Africa. After the heat and aridity of the high veld, the oak groves and shady gardens, the pine woods and luxuriant flowers of the peninsula are like a foretaste of Paradise.

But impressive though the famous coast-drive under the shadow of the Twelve Apostles; alluring though the sands of Muizenberg, where the wild South Atlantic breakers, which dash with such fury on the western coast, roll in more gently, as though fitting their mood to that of the countless children at play; the glory of Cape Town remains the Table Rock. By night or by day, in fair weather or in foul, whether standing out rampart-like against the sky or wreathed in mist which pours down on to the city below as though the Nibelungen children were sporting with the fleecy vapour, this mountain is unique in the world. And yet South Africans apparently have so little true appreciation and regard for the Table Rock, that an abominable scheme for a funicular railway is being actively prosecuted at present by the Cape Town municipality. We may expect therefore in the near future to see the mountain side defaced by one of the most

outrageous vandalisms ever perpetrated in cold blood by a civilised community. The very rocks themselves surely call out against destruction so cruel and so wanton of one of the unique beauties of the world, for Table Mountain with a funicular disgorging hoards of tourists on its plateau will be a very different place from the silent, beautiful heights scaled now with some labour and the more full of reward for that very fact. This is really a case where the needs of the sightseer should give way to the claims that all great beauty makes to preservation, so far as may be, from the defiling hand of man. It is astonishing to me that public opinion in South Africa does not rise up in its wrath and make short work of the scheme and its authors, thus preserving the great mountain in its primeval beauty for generations to come. Anyone whose evil fate has led them up the railways on the Rigi or Pilatus can only turn in revolt from the thought that similar desecration is shortly to be practised on the slopes of Table Mountain. One asks if it is still too late for public opinion to rouse itself on the subject. Be that as it may, I for one am glad to have known the Rock before the funicular strips it of its unique charm.

The climb, though of no account to a mountaineer, is a fatiguing one; but it should not be missed by any active-limbed traveller. The ascent from the Cape Town side, through what is called the Platte Klip Gorge, is steep and arduous, but the view which unfolds itself step by step as the face of the rock is scaled well repays the effort. From the top of the mountain one looks sheer down over what may be called the flaps of the table on to Cape Town, 3582 feet below. I have no acquaintance with aeroplanes, but I imagine that the aviator sees the world set forth beneath him

in much the same chart-like fashion. Cape Town lies at one's feet like a toy city built of children's bricks. Everything is reduced to the scale of the nursery. One picks out the absurd-looking little public buildings and thoroughfares apparently a few inches long. The docks are about the size of a saucer; a great White Star boat bound for New Zealand has shrunk to the proportions of the vessels which decorate Messrs. Gamage's windows. Even as we look it crawls out to sea like a fly on a window pane. One has an absurd desire to pick up a stone and throw it right down into the heart of the city or make a splash on the blue waters of the Bay, where Robben Island lies like a dusty rug on the shining deep. Southwards the plateau which forms the top of the mountain slopes in somewhat less precipitous fashion to the beautiful gorges which lead down to the suburbs of Rondebosch, Claremont, and Wynberg. Constantia, the old home of the Van der Stels, one of the most beautiful of the Cape houses, lies over the neck in the direction of False Bay. On three sides the sea sweeps round till its inviolable frontier yields place to the mountains through which the pathway lies to the north.

And then the flowers—the heather, the lilies, the gladioli—which cover the mountain. They are protected most carefully by law from the depredations of the tourist—a fact of which I was all unaware as I sallied down Skeleton Gorge and through Bishop's Court with my arms full of gladioli, an unsuspecting law breaker. Even more beautiful, perhaps, are the tiny glades on the lower slopes, where streams of water bubble out of the rock, and arums and moss and ferns cling together: miniature scenes from fairyland, where elves might come to sport by moonlight. •

In this dry and rugged land of Africa these green glades of dazzling verdure, with their murmur of water and the wind driving upwards through the great oak trees below, bring a sense of enchantment hard to describe. And those who know the mountain well will tell you that you may explore it for months and years and still find new beauties undiscovered in its gorges and frowning precipices, in its flowers and streams and valleys, last but not least in that incomparable gift of colour which at all seasons is the special glory of South Africa.

No; the question of the capital is not to me an agitating one. Cape Town, with her history, her harbour, her mountain, has nothing to fear from Pretoria.

CHAPTER III

A MEMORIAL AND A GRAVE

Full lasting is the song, though he
 The singer passes : lasting too
 For souls not lent in usury
 The rapture of the forward view.

MEREDITH,

• L'homme d'action est toujours un faible artiste, car il n'a pas pour but unique de refléter la splendeur de l'univers : il ne serait être un savant, car il règle ses opinions d'après l'utilité politique : ce n'est même pas un homme très-vertueux, car jamais il n'est irréprochable, la sottise et la méchanceté des hommes le forçant à practiser avec elles. Jamais surtout il n'est aimable : la plus charmante des vertus, la réserve, lui est interdite. Le monde favorise les audacieux, ceux qui s'aident eux-mêmes. On est fort dans l'action par ses défauts ; on est faible par ses qualités.

ERNEST RENAN.

RONDEBOSCH, the beautiful suburb of Cape Town on the slopes of the Devil's Peak, dates from the earliest years of the Dutch colonisation of South Africa. It was here that Jan van Riebeck, leader of the first expedition to the Cape, started farming operations on behalf of the Dutch East India Company about 1655, and here, in due course, was built the original Groote Schuur, or Great Barn, in which his grain was housed.

On the hillside above the fine modern Dutch house which is now the official residence of the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa there has recently been

erected a memorial temple with spreading colonnades. It is built of the local granite, and stands out white, simple, dignified among its setting of pine-trees. A great flight of steps flanked by bronze lions leads down from the temple to a semi-circular space, where on a block of granite stands the figure of Watts's Physical Energy. Behind the temple the woods slope upwards till they lose themselves among the violet rocks of the mountain. In front lies that vast expanse of country over the Cape flats to the distant Hottentots' Holland mountains, the beauty of which eludes description. Once long ago at Groote Schuur, the owner who loved it with so deep a passion said to me that he often thought God in Heaven had no scene so fair to look upon as that view above the house. The bronze figure on the galloping horse fronts the far horizon with eager challenge. The hand of the rider is shading his eyes and he is looking fixedly, intently, towards the north. Anyone familiar with the statue among the placidities and perambulators of Kensington Gardens can little realise the splendored virility of the group amid natural surroundings more attuned to its rugged genius. Rider, temple, mountain-side, all here form one coherent whole, a fitting monument by day or by night to the mighty spirit it commemorates. I saw the temple once, mysterious, unforgettable, when the gold and purple of the sunlight hours had yielded place to the olive and silver of the moon. It was as though the peace of God enveloped the grey mountain side and the whisper of the eternities was carried by the wind as it glided through the pine woods. The sense of the sea was all around, but a hush had fallen even on the dim waters half discerned of the two great bays washed by different oceans. All was silence, peace,

acquiescence, but a living peace which spoke of brief earthly effort merged into a more vast, a more eternal purpose. Horse and rider stood out clear against the powder-blue sky, while the white stairway behind sloped upwards till it lost itself among the darker shadows of the clustered pillars: true image of that Jacob's ladder of the soul with the angels of God ascending and descending. Under the full splendour of the moon, the questioning impatient figure on the horse flung its perpetual challenge across the heart of Africa into a night which was as clear as day. And suddenly across the sky came a great shooting star, soaring up serenely and then falling, a blaze of light apparently into the heart of the temple itself.

Let us follow the intent gaze of the rider as he scans the night: let us annihilate a thousand miles and more of dry karroo and dusty veld, and journey to that resting-place in the far north towards which the eyes are ever turned. Thirty miles from Bulawayo, the ancient 'Place of Killing,' you strike a range of low granite hills which stretch for about 100 miles along the great uplands of Matabeleland. They are little hills, 200 or 300 feet high, geologically the product of denudation, and they have nothing in common either with the characteristic flat-topped South African kopje or with the sweeping lines of the Drakensberg. They are angry-looking heaps of stones, and I for one had the impression of a family of giants who had quarrelled over some huge meal and had upset the mammoth contents of a sugar basin over the countryside. The whole district is a sea of rocks, and it is doubtful whether any white man has explored half the recesses of the caves and valleys which lie hidden among the hills. They are wooded hills too, and after

the rains are a mass of verdure and flowering plants. One kopje so closely resembles another that the difficulty of geographical bearings among such a labyrinth is enormous. But there is one kopje now to which many feet are turned in pilgrimage, a kopje hard to find in the old days, but unique among the hills for the twelve or more great monoliths which encircle the summit. For ages these great stones have stood as though awaiting a guardianship, a trust; and the trust is theirs to-day, for they guard a grave—a rough-hewn block of granite on which the eyes of the bronze rider far in the south are fixed.

The view from the rock has been called the World's View. But from this high claim I for one must dissent. There are many finer views in South Africa alone than can be obtained in the Matoppos. The view is poignant, strange, restless, rather than beautiful. These convulsed and agonised hills speak of the toil and travail of life rather than of the peace of death. The imagination of a Leonardo da Vinci alone could do justice to such rocks with their weird suggestion of life and personality. One is reminded of the stony backgrounds in which he has set those enigmatic smiling women whose faces are so singularly devoid of all real mirth. Even the solitude and the silence are not convincing. In them the same note of restless expectancy is to be found: of silence, but waiting for the last trump to sweep with shout and battle through the hosts of Heaven. But it may be that the strong, restless soul, who willed to lie at the last among these hills, gave us in that final choice some glimpse of the spirit in Nature to which his own was akin. Here he ventured his life in the cause of peace and won his Matabele name of 'the one who separates the fighting bulls.' And here,

so it is said, the Matabele—who by their own wish guard the grave—believe that his spirit communes over the affairs of the land with that of Umsilikatze, their own great chief, buried on a kopje near at hand. Not for such ghosts could there exist the torpid joys of the conventional Paradise.

By the grave of Cecil John Rhodes who can venture to estimate his life and work? The task remains an impossible one for our generation. Lives and memoirs have been written; facts, data, impressions, collected. It is no reflection on their authors to recognise that so far the tale is left half-told. The calm lamp of the historian has not yet illumined a figure so great and so debatable; not those who have lived among the passions and upheavals of latter-day South Africa can estimate with justice the mingled gold and dross of that character. The measure of the man is not to be taken by those who greatly loved or greatly hated him. Our hands are incapable of holding firmly scales into which we have cast the bias of our own prejudices. As in the mysterious story of Abraham's sacrifice in the plain of Mamre, both the burning lamp and the smoking furnace turn by turn passed among the pieces of the offering casting light or darkness on his path. That strange mystical touch sets him apart, and leaves lesser men shaken and confounded by his deeds. He compels unwilling tribute from those who most passionately seek to condemn him. Such a man as Mr. Cripps of Enkeldoorn, missionary, negrophilist, and poet, cannot escape in his Mashonaland station from the influence which still remains the most vital thing in Rhodesia. He challenges it angrily, but a poem like 'Resurgat' shows that the compelling force of that influence is strong upon him.

God be with you in your need !
When God's mills have ground you through—
All the coarse cruel chaff of you—
Be there left one seed to sow !
Which in season may unfold
Your visionary might of old—
Like some fecund vine to sprawl
On the widths of Zion's wall
In penitence imperial.

The man who can wring this strange tribute from an unwilling opponent is not one to be pigeonholed and docketed morally after the vain attempts of many of his detractors. To deny or to overlook in Rhodes the greatness of his spirit, the wide sweep of his vision, the vast national ends to which he devoted wealth and will, were as foolish as to ignore the darker, the more sinister sides of his nature, the ruthless disregard of men and methods, the moral short cuts which involved him in disaster. And midway between these poles lay a debatable ford where warring factions struggled for supremacy : an utter contempt for money as regards all the pompous trivialities for which small men value it, and yet the supreme and pathetic delusion that money could buy a man's best convictions ; a complete simplicity of personal life while the pageant of Empire hung before his eyes ; a power of thought which ranged over continents and yet could display a childish irritability and petulance about trifles ; staunch in friendship, implacable in enmity ; finally, as his will proved, capable of a keen appreciation for educational discipline and intellectual power, the more remarkable in a man of action, himself little disciplined.

No : among the angry violences of our own time, the first, let alone the last, word has hardly been spoken of Cecil Rhodes, that dreamer with his head among the

stars, examining the future with puissant vision, while his feet strayed among dark and devious paths. Here on the rock where in old days he would spend hours in silent thought, or sprawling like a great lion in the shadow of the monoliths would argue and dispute with the friends he summoned to his councils, perhaps the thought which rises uppermost is that in very truth the face of death is kind. For life are violences, acrimonies, struggles; for death, the quiet majesty which winnows the things temporal from the things eternal. To death, not life, we must look for a true sense of values; and the kindness of death lies in its wiping out of the lesser and baser and therefore more transitory sides of human life and character. Cecil Rhodes remains a great influence in South Africa to-day, but it is a higher influence than of old, an influence purged and purified. To-day the dross is gone and the spirit's true endowments stand out as never before. When men speak of their hope and faith for the future his personality still dominates hearts and imaginations. Wherever some great work is found his inspiration is almost invariably concerned with it. To whatever criticisms the acquisition of Rhodesia may have been open there can be no question of the value of Rhodes's far-sighted policy to the whole present development of a United South Africa. The very existence of the Union would have been thwarted and imperilled had a foreign Power established itself between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, and a situation already sufficiently tangled politically and racially would have been still further complicated. Rhodes, who saw the end, willed the means. But the history had its dark pages, and for these things a price had to be paid. Cecil Rhodes, Paul Kruger—the ambitions and conflicts of these

two men were to deluge the land with blood. To the old President, as to Rhodes himself, death has brought the more kindly generous judgment, the greater recognition of his deep if narrow patriotism. Neither man was doomed to see the new order arise out of the ashes of the old. What was vital in Rhodes's vision of Empire, what was no less vital in Kruger's passionate sense of nationality, had to pass through the change of death before the Fates could weave the enduring strands of those purposes on the loom of the nation's life. To both men, as of old, came the inexorable voice : 'Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars ; thou shalt not build a house unto My Name because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth.'

We bow our heads before the judgment, but maybe we pray that a man of rest may indeed be reared up for the building of a house of life in this land 'exceeding magnificent and of fame and glory throughout all countries.' Let the last word lie not with the men and women of his own race, but with the generous appreciation by General Botha which appears as foreword to Lord Grey's great tribute at the opening of the Rhodes Memorial in July 1912 :—

'Criticism, at such a time as this, gives place to a reverent and sincere appreciation of what was best and most unselfish in our friend ; and the heart in reverence bows to the silent prayer, that what was greatest and highest and noblest in Cecil John Rhodes may remain a living influence in the country he loved so well.'

• CHAPTER IV

IN BASUTOLAND

We travelled in the print of olden wars,
 Yet all the land was green.
 And love we found and peace,
 Where fire and war had been.
 They pass and smile the children of the sword,
 No more the sword they wield;
 But O, how deep the corn
 Along the battlefield.

R. L. STEVENSON.

• LOCAL trains in South Africa eschew the American spirit of hustle, and amble placidly and pleasantly across the veld to their destination. In remote districts they are by no means of daily occurrence, and when you part from the main line it is sometimes necessary to wait patiently at the local hotel till the specified day produces the specified train. The smoke of an approaching locomotive twice or thrice a week is a real event in the Back Veld, the smaller Dorps turning out in force at the wayside stations to pass the time of day with neighbours who have embarked on the hazardous courses of foreign travel. The train itself is almost invariably overcrowded, and affords much scope for a study of the Dutch countryside. They are invariably—in my experience—courteous and considerate, these tall Boer farmers, who interrupt their harangues in Taal to converse with one politely

in broken English about the opening or closing of the window and the other small amenities of travel. In such a train I ambled one Saturday afternoon late in December through the Conquered Territory from Bloemfontein to Maseru, the picturesque little capital of Basutoland. A train into Basutoland at all is a novelty, for till the recent construction of the line from Bloemfontein, Maseru could only be reached by a long coach-drive from Ladybrand. The drought which had laid so fierce a hand on South Africa during 1912 still reigned practically unbroken, and the parched land of the Free State was calling out for rain. It is a valuable farming country, however, this district of the Conquered Territory filched from the Basutos more than forty years ago by the Free State Boers, and large crops, both of mealies and wheat, are grown here. The Duke of Westminster owns a large tract of land in this district, and the red-tiled roofs of the pretty homesteads on the Westminster estate are a feature of the countryside. The Duke's property has been carefully developed, but the landlord and tenant system which obtains on it is not a popular one, neither does it seem well adapted to the needs of the country. Power of acquiring the freehold on easy terms is a necessary condition of satisfactory land settlement in South Africa, as otherwise men hesitate to make improvements the benefit of which may be reaped by someone else. The line runs near the Government Experimental Farm at Tweespruit where stock and cattle are raised; and, to judge by the number of homesteads, farming is obviously prosecuted with considerable vigour. For many miles the isolated peak of Thaba N'Chu, rearing its crest into the clear sky, dominates the rolling landscape.

The mountain was the meeting place of the Trek Boers in 1837, and as such adds a certain historical interest to its fine natural outlines. The country becomes more and more hilly as the Basutoland border is approached, the Caledon river forming the boundary at this point. Rivers with flowing waters are an exception in South Africa, and the respectable stream of the Caledon was quite a surprise. Shortly after the passage of the river the train comes to a stop at Maseru—Maseru being the Basuto word for sandstone, the prevalent rock of the country.

It is something of a privilege to penetrate to this tiny capital, for hotels are non-existent and the visits of stray tourists in no way encouraged. Basutoland is practically a great native reserve, and no European settlement is allowed within its boundaries, save a handful of specially authorised persons. The Resident Commissioner and small group of British officials have their headquarters at Maseru, and here the 'Pitso,' or Great Council of the Basutos, meets annually, when chiefs and people confer with the Imperial authorities about all matters of government. Basutoland is a treeless country, but at Maseru pines and eucalyptus have been introduced, and the Residency has a pleasant garden, where flowers and green leaves come as a welcome change from the barren hills. The substantial houses, built of the local sandstone, give a solid air to Maseru, and the public offices, the Pitso hall, and the newly built Anglican church are a practical demonstration of what native work can achieve under European guidance. Basutoland has been a great field for missionary effort, the French Protestant missions in particular being widely established. They have carried on excellent work among the natives

and an admirable technical school has recently started under Government auspices. The Basutos make skilled workmen; indeed, their proficiency in this respect excites no little jealousy in the Free State, where native competition in industrial matters is regarded with great abhorrence. But as one looks round at Maseru on the excellent quality of much native work, more and more rank heresy takes possession of the mind as regards the fundamental dogma of South African industrial life—namely that white men are to do the skilled and black men the unskilled work. In a country where the white working population is not sufficiently large to meet the economic needs of the community, can there be any sense in artificially preventing the native from making good, so far as he can, the considerable deficiencies which exist? This heresy, however, raises a very large question, the full discussion of which would take us far beyond the boundaries of Maseru. At least the Imperial authorities in Basutoland act upon the hypothesis that the native should be trained to carry out manual work in his own land. At the Government Industrial School there is a fitting shop, blacksmith's shop, carpenter's shop, and the boys are also taught to work as masons. There were seventy-three pupils at the school at the time of my visit, and they pay school fees amounting to 4*l.* per annum. Detractors of missionary work must find Basutoland somewhat a stumbling-block in the path of their theories, missionary influence having been the dominant one in the land to the benefit of all concerned. All told, about 50,000 natives are members of churches, but Christianity in some form has touched a far larger proportion of the population.

Three hills, known locally as the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, surround Maseru, and from the summit of the World an extensive view of the country may be obtained right away to the Maluti Mountains and Thaba Bosigo — Mountain of the Night — once the stronghold of Moshesh, now the burial-place of the Basuto chiefs. Nearer at hand is the break in the hills known as Lancers Gap, where Sir George Cathcart's expedition in 1852 suffered in an encounter with the Basutos. These great views are one of the special glories of South African travel, and the Basutoland scenery is particularly fine, especially on the Natal border. I was told that during the war on a very calm day it was possible from the summit of the World to hear faintly on one side the guns of Ladysmith, 125 miles distant, and of Paardeberg, in the Free State, on the other.

Basutoland is densely populated, and the steady increase of population among a pastoral people already numbering over 400,000 is a serious problem. The land question is an urgent one, for the country is clearly overcrowded. A density of forty natives to the square mile is a high one for South Africa. Native villages are very numerous, and the degree to which the veld is cropped high up the mountains tells its own tale. The Basutos look happy and contented, and their bearing, though proud and independent, is perfectly respectful. They wear gaily striped blankets and curious chimney-pot hats, with wide brims, made of straw, European clothes mercifully being less common here than in other parts of Africa. Nearly all of them own horses, and the little Basuto ponies are a feature of the land. The native population is practically a mounted one, and during a visit to one of the kraals

it was not a little curious to pass so many warriors of this picturesque type—many of them armed. •On the face of it, Basutoland hardly seems adapted to motors, but the ubiquitous car has arrived here, as elsewhere. Letsie, the Paramount Chief, died shortly after my visit, but the old gentleman—ill though he was at the time—had been seized with a passion for motoring, and was in the habit of scouring the country, despite the inadequate roads, in a car which was the joy of his heart. For even in Basutoland the new order treads hard on the heels of the old, and the spirit of change is abroad here as elsewhere.

Basutoland, though of small size judged by South African standards—its area is a little over 10,000 square miles—is historically one of the most interesting districts south of the Zambesi. This mountainous country, popularly known as the Switzerland of South Africa, has had a strange and chequered career among native States. Though administered directly by the Imperial Government, the Basutos may claim the proud position of a Kafir people who have preserved a larger measure of independence against all comers than exists in any other part of South Africa. They have in the past inflicted no small measure of discomfort on Imperial, Colonial, and Dutch Governments alike. As a nation they owe their existence to one of the most remarkable men the Bantu race has yet produced, the celebrated chief Moshesh, who during the wars of extermination waged by the Zulu King Chaka, rallied a number of fugitives from other tribes among the rocky strongholds of the Maluti Mountains. Moshesh, though gifted with considerable military skill, was even more remarkable for the astuteness and success of his diplomacy, and in 1869, after a prolonged

struggle with the Free State Boers, saved the practical independence of his people by invoking the protection of the Imperial Government. 'Let me and my people rest under the large folds of the flag of England before I am no more,' wrote Moshesh in words which are famous in South African history, and under those large folds the Basutos have prospered exceedingly. The warlike spirit of the people occasioned no little anxiety to the Imperial authorities during the late Boer war. The then Paramount Chief Lerothodi, with between 20,000 and 30,000 well-armed men, asked no better than to make a demonstration across the Caledon river which would wipe off some old scores against the Free State Boers. Thanks to the tact and discretion of the Resident Commissioner and his colleagues, this dangerous spirit was kept in check, and the Basutos, though spoiling for a fight, were induced to remain quiet and not interfere in a white man's struggle. The present Resident Commissioner, Sir Herbert Sloley, is one of the greatest authorities on native affairs in South Africa, and under his wise and sympathetic rule this high-spirited people are developing their national life without conflict with their neighbours and along lines conducive to their own self-respect and growth in civilisation. They show no inclination of any kind for absorption into the Union, and their determination to remain under Imperial control may produce some perplexing situations for the Home Government before the matter is finally adjusted. The whole question of the Native Protectorates is not the least of the many thorny problems of South Africa, and the Basutos, who have maintained their independence successfully, as we have seen, in the past, are not likely to brook any high-handed settlement

made over their heads. All these circumstances are of course fully realised by the authorities concerned, but in Basutoland, as elsewhere in South Africa, the true solvent of many difficulties is to be found not through forcing the pace but through the more peaceful operations of time.

CHAPTER V

THE EDGE OF THE WHITE WATERS

A place for gold where they find it.

THERE is only one poetical element connected with Johannesburg, the beautiful and suggestive name given to the greatest gold district in the world—why or wherefore I know not, for the rushing waters flecked with foam which the word Witwatersrand suggests are conspicuous by their absence here. This is the High Veld in all the grandeur of its great spaces and open challenge to the heavens above; but it is also the High Veld in all its silence, emptiness, and dryness. In the old days when the Trek Boers first roamed over these remote uplands, who could have conceived the dramatic transformation to be witnessed in the future when primeval silence was to yield place to the clang of stamp and mill, and the peace of Nature to the unrest of man's quest for gold? So vast is Nature in South Africa, so puny is man when confronted with her works, that it is almost with a sigh of surprise that one comes across any evidences of the latter's power to wrest from Nature some measure of her might. The living will, frail but conscious, imposes itself on the great unconsciousness of the empty spaces, and Nature in the main submits—save on the occasions when, so to speak, she lifts an eyebrow and man is

overwhelmed with cataclysms which make of his strength a dream and a forgetting. Would that the first contact of man's living will with Nature's power were apt to take a form more consonant with the inherent nobility of each ! But that first contact, alas ! too often expresses itself in ugly greed and sordid gain, till a higher moral consciousness once again asserts itself, and man returns to the great mother in penitence seeking forgiveness : a reconciliation never denied, however much shadowed by the sense of failure.

It is difficult to avoid some such moralisings as the railway for the first time brings one within sight of Johannesburg and the Rand. To wander for some weeks or months from district to district throughout South Africa, seeing nothing but an occasional farm ; halting at the little settlements called towns ; feeling with the glory of each sunny morning and the hush of each perfect night that the vast peace of Mother Earth sinks deeper into one's being ; losing all memory of the fret and jar of city life while a truer sense of proportion falls on the weary restlessness of the spirit : then suddenly to see, as in some nightmare, great chimneys disgorging clouds of black smoke on the horizon, and the whole ugly apparatus of industrialism more dirty, more ragged, more unkempt even than in industrial Yorkshire and Lancashire, heaving itself out of the solitude of the veld, is a shock of no pleasant kind. The cyanide heaps are the only unfamiliar feature of the scene which unfolds itself, spectral-looking accumulations, white, glistening ; but the whiteness has in it nothing fair or alluring, but rather something sinister and corpse-like. It is all profoundly unlovely, and moves one to a resentment which is never experienced in industrial England where the sense of

the human heart is very present amid mine, mill, and machine. Why, one asks, should dirt and chimneys come and instal themselves in such a land as this, defiling Nature with their corrupting touch? That is the first impulse, and it is a natural one in the circumstances. But after the first shock common sense reasserts itself. This ugly patch is the financial key of South Africa, and, for the present at least, national development is bound to be concerned with gold production. Then, man is after all a gregarious animal, and his progress in civilisation has been, to a large degree, the measure of his association with other men in towns. To rail against the town is foolishness: it is an inevitable condition of modern life and modern industry. Far better is it therefore to accept the fact and work with it loyally, setting before ourselves an ideal of city life worthy of the manhood it holds. In the great vision of the new heaven and the new earth the city still remains when former things have passed away and even the sea has vanished. It may seem slightly fantastical to call upon town councillors and urban authorities to conform their standards to those of the mystical *Civitas Dei*, and yet who can deny the need of just some such uplift to vivify the whole of municipal life and raise it from the slough of despond and petty interests in which it has too great a tendency to sink?

The beginnings of most cities are ugly, and Johannesburg, which had the further disadvantage of starting life as a mining camp, was handicapped in a special way. In the early days its future was one of complete uncertainty, and until the phase of gold mining and speculation had passed into that of gold manufacturing and solid enterprise, the first conditions of an ordered and

civilised life could hardly be fulfilled. No trouble was taken to lay out the town properly in the first place, because no one had any idea whether they were dealing with a town or a fleeting settlement. The beginnings therefore were neglected entirely, and for neglected beginnings any community has to pay heavily. A great many allowances therefore should be made for Johannesburg to-day, if on the whole she still gives the incongruous impression as of a woman, wearing a brocade gown, with ragged stockings and down-at-heel shoes. With a population here to-day and gone to-morrow, the more solid civic virtues cannot be rooted and bear good fruit, and this transitory element remains to this day a grave drawback in the life of the place. The town straggles in every direction, covering a large area. It presents some very sharp contrasts so far as wealth and poverty are concerned. There are beautiful houses in the residential suburbs, and from the high ground at Park Town fine views over the surrounding country can be obtained. As against this, the poorer parts of the town are unspeakably squalid and ramshackle. The principal streets are spacious, but without a redeeming feature architecturally. Here and there fine buildings are springing up as the artistic sense asserts itself with more settled conditions. No doubt it is all a very remarkable product for less than a generation's growth, but it lacks charm and glamour completely, and even such atmosphere as may be experienced at Pretoria. The authorities claim not unjustly, that a great deal has been done in the time, and that such public services as light, trams, water, telephones, &c., have been provided adequately and efficiently for the community. As a community it is very much alive, but I was never in a place where, rightly or wrongly,

the impression made on me was so strong of the lack of human intercourse between classes. One is conscious of a hard indifferent spirit abroad, which might easily crystallise into sharp hostility—an observation certainly endorsed by the July riots on the Rand which took everything and everyone aback by their fierceness. The presence of the black man in preponderating numbers as the basis of industry is no doubt responsible, in a large measure, for the somewhat inhuman terms on which the whites live together. They are not a great homogeneous body welded together by common needs and interests. At every point the native thrusts himself in between them with a different standard of life, and through his weakness and impotence is a moral peril of no slight magnitude to his white employers.

The Rand basin of which Johannesburg is the centre is about 130 miles long by 30 wide and the main reef series stretch right and left of the town for a distance of 80 miles before curving to the south. Gold mining is carried on continuously along this line for forty or fifty miles, some seventy-seven companies being at work in the district. They vary in size from great enterprises with a multiplication of batteries and stamps, to propositions of a more modest character, and between them they turned out in 1911 the huge total gold production of £33,599,689.¹ The net output of gold from all sources in South Africa was £35,049,041, being 36 per cent. of the world's total production, which is estimated at £97,250,000. A strange city indeed, numbering some 237,220 souls,² 120,411 white and 116,809 black and coloured, sprung from the bare veld, where twenty-five years ago buck and hartebeest roamed at will.

¹ Union of South Africa Mines Department Annual Report, 1912.

² Census 1911.

Few things sound more romantic and exciting than a gold mine. What visions of El Dorado, of treasure islands, of buccaneers—in a word, of all the glamour and enchantment of our youth—are conjured up by the very name! Alas, for the latter-day prose of life! the modern gold mine is the most wholly unromantic spot imaginable. It has considerable 'mechanical and scientific interest, especially as regards the elaborate processes brought to bear on the extraction of the gold from the rock in which it lies embedded. But the only thing which one must never expect to see at a gold mine is gold itself. It is well to be clear on that point at the start, so as to avoid disappointment. The processes disclosed in the course of a visit to a mine are very remarkable, but gold is never present visually during any of them. Lumps of the precious metal sticking to the stamps or the sides of the cyanide vats must not be looked for here. All that one sees from first to last is, first, the mining and pounding of hard grey rock, and then the thumping and washing of soft grey mud. It was my good fortune to be shown the process above and below ground by Sir Lionel Phillips himself, to whose kindness I was indebted for a most interesting visit to the Crown Mines.

A coal mine and a gold mine underground are very different things. The first shock when one reaches the bottom of a Rand shaft is to see naked lights everywhere and men smoking pipes and cigarettes. The unique gold deposits of the Rand are to be found in conglomerate pebble beds called banket, tipped at an angle of between 30 and 70 degrees. The mine is worked at a series of different levels known as stopes, and up the stope one must clamber, more or less on hands and knees if one wishes to see the men at work

on the face of the reef. There is no question, as in a coal mine, of extracting the metalliferous ore with pick and shovel. Holes are drilled in the rock and the surface shattered daily by charges of dynamite. The shattered rock is then collected and taken above ground to the mill, where it goes through the further processes of reduction necessary. The very serious feature of rock drilling, simple and not particularly arduous work though it looks, lies in the dust created by the drills and the high percentage of miner's phthisis to which it gives rise. We clambered up the stope, and squatted in the half light where a typical picture of South African industrial life lay before us. The native boys were hard at work driving holes in the rock either with hammers or electric drills getting ready for the blasting. There was a white ganger in charge of the boys, but even the electric drill was being worked by the natives, while the ganger sitting on his haunches looked on with an occasional word of direction. This particular ganger was a Northumberland miner, and as natives of colliery districts we promptly foregathered over coal. Yes, the wages were excellent, he said, but England was England and his heart was clearly in 'the north countree.' No native may hold a blasting certificate, so the direction of the mine remains entirely in white hands, though some of the natives acquire considerable skill in handling the drills. But they are easily thrown off their balance by even the smallest upset or difficulty, and though contemplation rather than hard work seems the lot of the white overseer in a Rand mine, probably his responsibilities are greater than seem obvious to the casual visitor.

Once above ground the rock sets forth on a diversified and chequered career, worked out for it with

the highest scientific elaboration. The average output on the Rand is about six dwt. of gold for every ton of rock treated, and for every particle of gold recovered there are 100,000 particles of waste. The rock is taken first to the stamp mill where it is thoroughly pounded and crushed. The din of the stamp mill is indescribable and overwhelming; it is impossible to hear oneself speak, and I can only conclude that some form of dumb crambo exists among the unfortunate men who have the ill fate to work amid the uproar. The mill is like some devastating devouring monster clamouring for its prey, as it sucks the masses of grey rock greedily into its multifarious mouths and grinds them to powder. This stage accomplished, the pounded rock mixed with water is first poured over metal plates treated with mercury, and from a half to two-thirds of the gold is caught by the mercury process at this point, on what are known technically as the 'tables.' It is on the extraction of the remaining balance of the gold that so much skill and thought have been lavished. The rock, by this time pounded as fine as face powder, having passed over the mercury plates, is now subjected to the cyanide process. It is first poured into the great tanks, which are an outstanding feature of every mine on the Rand. The water is then pumped off and the powder when dried passed up on belts to a distributor which scatters it loosely into another tank. Cyanide of potassium is then pumped into the tank, which sets on foot a sort of game of hide-and-seek between the gold and the cyanide. The cyanide being fickle drops the potassium and exchanges it for the gold. The new cyanide solution is then pumped off and passed through boxes filled with zinc shavings, while what remains of the pounded rock is carted away to form the great

white rubbish heaps of cyanide tailings which litter the whole district. Once again the fickle cyanide thinks it would like a change, and this time drops the gold and picks up the zinc, the gold being deposited in a grey powder at the bottom of the box. This is collected; and the final process consists in the smelting of the mercury deposits on the plates, and of the powder in the boxes collected after such an expenditure of time and trouble. At the end of all these elaborations 95 per cent. of the gold crushed is recovered. I was shown a small crucible, the size of a casserole, in which gold and amalgam off the plates had been collected. Its appearance was that of a handful of dried mud, and this was the nearest I achieved to seeing gold in visible form at Johannesburg. But when the manager suggested I should lift it up, the weight proved tremendous, small though the crucible I was attempting to raise. The Rand gold mines are of low-grade ore, yielding but a modest return of gold per ton crushed. Their value lies not in their richness but in their regularity. Hence the amount of labour expended on the cyanide process with a view to capturing that one-third proportion of gold which eludes the mercury plates at the first washing.

Above and below ground during our tour the presence of the native gave rise to some curious reflections. Out on the fields and farms he seems at home; here amid complicated machinery we have yoked him to another process of doubtful value to himself. Compound life is one of the most interesting studies in South Africa. Here may be seen natives from all parts of the country; agriculturists turned for the nonce into miners, and lured from their kraals by the prospect of wages which prove the open sesame to the gratification of the Kafir's growing needs. Unlike the natives on

the diamond fields, both at Kimberley and the Premier Mine, the Rand workers are not strictly confined to compounds. In the case of gold there is not the same difficulty about thefts as in that of diamonds. The cloistered compound has been, and is, hotly attacked on principle; but if well managed it is probably a far better system for the natives concerned than the liberty which they possess at Johannesburg to roam about at will—a point emphasised by the last Commission which has recently dealt with native difficulties in South Africa.¹ Liberty can be an asset of very doubtful value to the native. Influences of the worst and most corrupting character await him at his compound, gate, and though the sale of intoxicants theoretically is prohibited, practically the illicit liquor trade flourishes at the expense of his demoralisation. So long as indentured black labour is employed on the mines, a special obligation rests on the whole mining community to ensure that the native's passage through the furnace of Johannesburg should be as little harmful as possible to his morale. In the Kimberley compounds, where Mr. Rhodes instituted really paternal government, the native is provided with opportunities of decent amusement and self-improvement out of work hours, which render the term of industrial service, despite the restraints on personal freedom imposed, far less inimical to his welfare than the conditions to which he is subjected at Johannesburg.

Many people may learn with surprise that nearly half the labour required for industrial purposes on the Rand is recruited outside the Union in Portuguese East Africa. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Compound, which is the great centre where the Portuguese

¹ Report of the Commission upon Assaults on Women, 1913.

natives are recruited and collected prior to being drafted over the mines, is the largest of its kind in Johannesburg. I paid a visit to the compound, where the high standard of order, cleanliness, and efficiency was very striking. Any sort of systematic ill-treatment of natives on the Rand may be dismissed as a fiction. It is one of the matters in which there has been a distinct advance in public opinion. Labour is scarce, costly to recruit, and when acquired is of value to the employers. The death rate from pulmonary diseases has been very high, especially in the case of boys from tropical latitudes where recruiting is now prohibited. But, so far as the outer conditions of life are concerned, the native is well provided for in the Witwatersrand Native Labour Compound. The building itself is spacious and well constructed. In no respect did the employment of Chinese prove more beneficial than the wholly improved conditions for native labour generally which resulted from their introduction. There was no question of thrusting the Chinese into the kennels which were thought good enough in old days for the housing of Kafirs on the mines. Adequate accommodation was one of the conditions of the employment of Asiatics, and now that the latter have departed, the Bantu worker reaps the benefit of these advantages. The Rand abounds in curious legends dealing with the brief and stormy residence of the Chinese in South Africa. An amusing sidelight on the 'slavery' cry was the character of one complaint about them which I heard in Johannesburg. On holidays no cabs of any kind were available in the town. They were all monopolised by the poor slaves, who, dressed in their best clothes, drove about in state, making purchases, while the Europeans perforce went on foot. That the first batch of Chinese

introduced should have been the sweepings of the Chinese gaols was a surprising blunder in view of the unpopularity of the experiment. It might have been thought that, especially at the start, more care would have been taken to secure good material. These ruffians were responsible for such outrages as were committed, and certainly proved very upsetting to the nerves of the country districts when they escaped from the compounds. But the bulk of the Chinese were steady, respectable men, very hardworking, who gave little or no trouble. Contrary to expectation they spent a good deal of money in the country, and their departure was not a little bewailed by the Johannesburg shopkeepers. In another respect I was told there had been an interesting by-product of their importation and exodus. The Chinese took very kindly to South African tobacco, and a small export trade of that commodity to China has now been established. As a temporary expedient to meet an abnormal state of affairs, the Chinese served a useful purpose; but to whatever gross exaggerations their presence in South Africa gave rise, their final disappearance from the country can only be regarded as a very fortunate circumstance. The difficulties to which the British Indians both in Natal and the Transvaal have given rise, show the peril of introducing yet another race question as a permanent factor in a situation already sufficiently complicated. Further, Chinese labour was not an adequate substitute for Kafir labour, because so vastly superior. It would have been impossible to confine such intelligence merely to the ranks of unskilled labour. There can be little doubt therefore that, had the experiment continued, the white working man would have found himself edged out in a relatively short space of time.

There was a very adequate case against the Chinese on grounds such as these, without the hysteria on the subject which ran riot at the time. But in one direction at least their presence indirectly entailed very fortunate consequences. So far as labour is concerned, there can be no question that the South African native has benefited all along the line since the introduction of the Chinese, owing to the higher standard in housing and sanitary matters which they imposed on the industry. Let us hope that this circumstance affords some consolation to the outraged consciences of the artists to whom we were indebted at the time for the harrowing cartoons of chained and manacled slaves.

The particular compound of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, to which I paid a visit, was one specially built for the Chinese, and is provided with many amenities as well as a hospital and medical staff. Natives from a distance are kept here for some little time in order to grow acclimatised before going below ground. The general impression conveyed within the enclosure is of a merry chattering crowd of men. Some of them were chaunting in the native manner to the strains of that strange instrument the marimba, the native piano. The marimba has a family likeness to the zither, and is played with a pair of sticks like tongs. It emits a weird, monotonous sound, but there is something rather attractive about its plaintive minor tones, voicing as it were the subconscious woe of a subject race. In another part of the compound the fresh arrivals were to be found hard at work with hammers, practising rock-drilling on heaps of stones in order to acquire a certain efficiency before going below ground. This is a habit to which the boys take readily enough, since it ensures better wages from the start of their

mining career. The kitchens where the great cauldrons of mealies—the staple food—were boiling were trim and clean. The sleeping accommodation consists of two tiers of bunks arranged in rooms round the various yards. A stalwart Mozambique boy sitting bolt upright with his legs crossed on an upper bunk in a mood apparently of the deepest meditation was my first impression of the interior. He took not the smallest notice of our entrance, continuing to stare into space as fixedly as before. I asked what was the matter with him, and was told he was one of the new arrivals who felt delicate and was therefore indisposed to work. Since his illness did not apparently justify removal to the hospital he was meditating undisturbed on his bed. Fierce faction fights, of course, break out from time to time in the compound, but so far as I could judge the natives were being handled with humanity and good sense by the compound managers. Tens of thousands of them pass through the place in the course of the year. Some of the boys were coming, others departing, long queues of them waiting at the office to hand over or receive their passes or wages. A complaint may be heard in Johannesburg—not one in my opinion to be taken very seriously—that native wages are really too high and that in the large majority of cases no proper use is made of the money earned. Wages, so it is said, are squandered on cheap jewellery, clocks, and umbrellas, and all manner of trash. A large group of boys with their bundles and parcels were just leaving the compound as we passed through, and the manager picked out one of them haphazard and asked him to open his box and show us his purchases. Down on his knees he went, well content with the request, the other boys gathering round in a circle and watching the

proceedings with the keenest interest. I was irresistibly reminded of the story of Joseph's brethren and their bundles, and the cup hidden among the latter to their trouble and alarm. Our friend fumbled with obvious pride at the key of his cheap tin box, and then the lid was thrown open with a great air and its treasures one by one drawn out and carefully laid on the ground. As luck would have it, we had not stumbled on contents of a trashy kind, for this particular native had made some sensible purchases in the way of serviceable boots, shirts, clothes, &c. Some embroidery and two glass jam-jars with plated spoons were the only obvious incongruities in this particular selection. An east coast Mohammedan boy, he repudiated with scorn the idea of taking a present home to his wife or wives, an inquiry I threw out in the course of the interview. The purchases were folded up and replaced, the box locked. He vanishes, a unit in that great crowd, with a long Odyssey by rail and road before him ere his eyes behold his native village once again—the village in many instances to which there is, alas ! no return. A large cage of African birds was kept in one corner of the compound—pretty, gay-looking objects with their bright plumage. 'We call her Miss Pankhurst,' said the manager, pointing to an alert-looking parakeet. 'Why that?' I inquired. 'Oh, because she talks and scolds all day and gives the other birds no peace.' But 'Miss Pankhurst' at the moment was wrapped in silence, so I was unable to judge of her prowess in this direction.

One leaves the compound with a hundred questions surging in the mind. What is the effect of all this on the native? What type of life and character is being created through this widespread contact with Johannesburg? What is the future of this strange city to be?

Johannesburg has grave faults and failures, but it is only fair to remember that many of them are the inevitable faults of a young community where public opinion is crude and immature. I must return in a subsequent chapter to a more detailed consideration of Johannesburg from the industrial and social point of view. Here I am but concerned with a fleeting impression of some aspects of its outer life. But beneath the wealth and glitter of the European population one becomes conscious that the native, half discerned, half recognised, in mine and compound permeates the whole structure of society and is the mainspring on which the life of Johannesburg turns. But what of the future of any society whose life rests on such a superstructure?

CHAPTER VI

THE SMOKE THAT THUNDERS

Behold, waters rise up out of the north, and shall be an overflowing flood.

THERE are some superior folk, fond of short cuts on to altitudes of self-sufficiency, who seek to separate themselves from the common herd by a studied disparagement of objects, natural or artistic, which the general opinion of the world acclaims. Such people exist in South Africa as elsewhere, and the hall-mark of their superiority is a deprecating attitude towards the Victoria Falls. They will hint that the Falls are rather disappointing than otherwise, that the water is inadequate, and that altogether too much fuss is made about them. The price of superiority is often a heavy one, and it is the critics, not the Zambesi, who in this instance are to be pitied.

It was in 1855 that the Victoria Falls were first discovered by Dr. Livingstone in one of those famous journeys which are still the admiration of all African travellers. No visitor to Rhodesia should miss the account of that discovery given by Livingstone in his diary. The extreme modesty and simplicity of the great explorer's narrative, his entire absence of phrases and fine language, are an example to all writers who have succeeded him. But the wonder of the scene

wrung even from Livingstone an exclamation more poetic than his wont, when he speaks of the flights of angels which but recently must have hovered over the spot. Livingstone's first impressions were of a unique character, for, unlike any of his successors, he approached the Falls from the upper reaches of the Zambesi on his descent of the river. From an island which bears his name, situated on the very edge of the abyss, he surveyed the wondrous scene of the Mosi-oa-tunya—'the smoke that thunders,' as it is called by the natives.

The journey to the Falls takes twenty-two hours in the train from Bulawayo, and it is accomplished in comfort nowadays with the accessories of dining and sleeping cars. It is not a little interesting to compare this expeditious transit with the graphic account of a journey to the Victoria Falls given by Mr. Knight in 'South Africa after the War,' a book published in 1903. Events have moved rapidly in South Africa since the war, and in no respect is the transformation more striking than in the matter of communication. Ten years ago, at the time of Mr. Knight's visit, the railway stopped short of the Falls by 130 miles, and the remaining distance of uninhabited forest and bush had to be covered by coach or wagon, the trip to and from the rail-head taking at least twelve days. Travelling was very rough and uncomfortable, and few tourists penetrated under such conditions to the banks of the Zambesi. One learns with regret and surprise that the glories of the Falls were never beheld by the Founder of Rhodesia. Illness cut short a trek to the north which Mr. Rhodes had arranged not long before his untimely death. The country between Bulawayo and the Zambesi is dull and uninteresting. Before the days of the railway the journey must have proved one of singu-

lar monotony and devoid of all excitements save the sporting chance of falling in with a lion. One becomes hardened to dust in South Africa, but a brand of a very special and superior type is kept on this particular route, a soft, all-permeating black dust which covers everything and everyone. Some 212 miles from Bulawayo one of the sharp contrasts of Africa comes into sight at the Wankies collieries, an unlovely bit of industrialism, springing out of the heart of the bush. It is, however, an enterprise of great importance to the commercial future of Rhodesia. But this is the only settlement through which the train passes till it comes to a halt at the pleasant hotel where visitors for the Falls find accommodation. For some miles before this point one scans the view eagerly from the carriage windows for the first glimpse of the great white cloud of mist and vapour hanging over the Falls, and it is with a thrill of excitement that the zig-zag of the cañon can be traced as the train toils along the track, and the railway span over the gorge comes into sight. One first-class geographical prize yet remains to be grasped by some bold explorer, for it is rumoured that one of the greatest waterfalls in the world exists on the unknown reaches of the Brahmapootra, where, so the natives say, the river turns into mist and talking devils. It may be, therefore, that in the future another magnificent natural object will come to take its place alongside the marvels of Niagara and the Zambesi. For the moment we have to be satisfied with the wonders of Africa and America, leaving Asia for the gratification of those who come after us.

One of the remarkable features of the Victoria Falls is that the level of the banks is practically the same above and below the cataract. Above the Falls the

Zambesi, a great placid river, a mile and a quarter wide, is flowing serenely between its wooded banks and gently washing the luxuriant islands, sub-tropical in appearance and vegetation, which lie like jewels in the stream. There is no hint, no suspicion of what is to come. Comparisons between the Victoria Falls and Niagara are peculiarly unprofitable, the natural features of the two scenes having nothing in common. But I know no difference more striking than that of the state of the Niagara and Zambesi rivers above their respective falls. The agony with which the Niagara prepares for its leap, the great series of rapids above Goat Island when the river, as though overwhelmed by some appalling consciousness, appears to be descending upon the island in a sheet of surging water, have not the faintest parallel here. At low water on the very edge of the Falls the Zambesi babbles among rocks broken up into little streams as shallow and as innocent as a Scottish burn. Then, suddenly, without a moment's warning, comes the great change, and the whole enormous volume of the river pours over a sheer precipice 350 feet high, and more than a mile across from bank to bank into a deep and narrow fissure, sometimes less than, 400 feet in width.

You are told on reaching the Falls—and I hasten to repeat the information—that at high water the line of cataract stretches unbroken for a distance as great as that of Oxford Street between Marble Arch and Tottenham Court Road, and also that St. Paul's Cathedral, so far as height is concerned, could be accommodated in the abyss and fail to clear the edge. But I must confess my entire inability at the time to reconstruct Oxford Street along the line of the Falls, and an incapacity no less great on my return to reconstruct the Falls in Oxford Street.

Save at high river, the Victoria Falls do not present the great unbroken curtain of water which is to be seen at Niagara. There are, so to speak, a series of falls divided by islands which hang on the brink of the chasm, and the enchantment of the scene lies in the variety and wonder of their changing aspects. Close to the western bank is the beautiful fall now known as the Devil's Cataract, but called originally by Baines with more charm and appropriateness the Leaping Water—a name which one would like to find restored to common usage. Between the Leaping Water and the great line of the Main Falls comes Cataract or Boaruka Island, the Main Falls being in turn divided by Livingstone Island from the Rainbow Falls, which run across to the eastern bank. Language becomes helpless and inadequate in presence of the Falls. The mind, stumbling before the scene, piles on adjectives only to find itself silenced and outclassed. No description can hope to convey even a fractional impression of the spectacle. Yet succeeding travellers hurl themselves vainly on the task. The view from Boaruka Island, for instance, is one of unearthly beauty. The island projects so far over the edge that it is possible to look from its brink right into the dark chasm below, while the cataract falls in glory all around one. The impression is of water ascending no less than descending, for the spray springs upwards to meet the falling waters in an arresting embrace, as though seeking passionately, helplessly to avert the stroke of Fate from one beloved. But all in vain; swept on by that inexorable might the mingled waters sink in final and despairing acquiescence into those sinister depths the recesses of which are for ever hidden from the eye of man.

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From the opposite bank of the chasm, known as the Rain Forest—the beautiful, tropical wood, kept perennially fresh and green by the moisture—the traveller directly faces the Falls, and can survey the scene with as much leisure as is compatible with the drenching spray, which falls perpetually. The damp, overhanging boughs frame the most enchanting views. Turn by turn one thinks of fairyland and then of some devouring monster. The fury of the water in the depths below is indescribable. It is as though the river were driven mad by the shock which has turned its placid course into tumult and chaos. The seething waters, penned up in their narrow prison, try desperately to find some way out, and, finally, nearly a mile from the western bank, they pour themselves through a narrow slit, only 100 yards wide, into an opening known as the Boiling Pot, thence to dash again for over forty miles through a narrow, zigzag ravine of precipitous basaltic cliffs. Then, and then only, after this passage perilous, does the exhausted river emerge among surroundings which in some way recall its old serenity. The gloomy course through the ravine is still in large part a mystery, so deep and inaccessible are the cliffs and so difficult of exploration.

Opinions are much divided as to the best time of year to visit the Falls. Here, as elsewhere, you cannot have it both ways. At low water in November the eastern side of the cataract is practically dry. It is interesting to remember that it was at this season of the year that Livingstone made his great discovery. The advantage of the low-water period is that the whole surroundings can be viewed with ease, though naturally the scene lacks the majesty of the river in flood. But the absence of water is, after all, relative ; there is water

enough and to spare' on the western bank and in the main cataract. At high water it is impossible to get very near the Falls. The volumes of cloud and spray hide everything, and, soaked through as I was myself in the Rain Forest at a moment when the river was exceptionally low, I find it difficult to imagine how any view of the abyss is possible when the Zambesi thunders into it with all its strength. No words can describe the extraordinary beauty of the falling water, which, catching on projecting pinnacles of rock, dissolves before one's eyes into clouds of airy spray. And from the depths of the abyss, like hope rising triumphantly through the shadow of despair, spring the beautiful rainbows; forming, re-forming, with every gust of wind against the shifting background of cloud and spray. One is reminded of the great elemental melodies of the Rheingold, the rushing water that Wagner pours into our ears with so mighty a flood of sound. And here, too, one thinks of the rainbow arch over which he conducts his quarrelsome and immoral gods into Valhalla.

It would be hard to say from which of the many vantage points the aspect of the great panorama is the most wonderful. The Falls have many aspects and attune themselves to many different moods. The enchantment of the Rain Forest and the pursuing rainbows linger in a very special way in the recollection. But the view from the bottom of the Palm Kloof below the cataract has a grandeur all its own. With the seething waters at one's feet, it is possible to stand on the very edge of the Boiling Pot and look upwards at the white line of the Falls through the narrow portal, guarded by dark overhanging rocks, where the river pours itself out from the trough into which it has fallen. There is something almost hypnotic in the sinister

compelling force of the waters as they hurl themselves along to dash with appalling violence against the first turn in the cañon, where their course is again diverted. If they were suddenly to rise and overwhelm the onlooker it would hardly seem surprising, so living is the scene, so uncanny the sense of some great and monstrous personality.

The reaches above the Falls are of a very different character. Here the aspect of the Zambesi is sunny and serene, lacking of course the unique grandeur of the cataract itself, but in its breadth, calm, and beauty affording a welcome contrast to the turmoil below. The islands afford delicious shade for picnic parties—no trifling consideration when shade temperatures considerably over 100 degrees are common. Regattas even take place on occasions, and there is a touch of lightness, joy, and mirth about this stretch of the river very unusual in South Africa. In one respect the whole environment of the Falls has advantages unhappily denied to Niagara. It is almost impossible to-day to reconstruct the scene in America on which Father Hennepin, another missionary discoverer of waterfalls, first of all white men must have gazed. On the Zambesi the unique natural surroundings remain intact and undefiled, and there can be little essential change since Livingstone's day. Many people regret the construction of the railway bridge across the river, but personally I do not think the great span detracts much from the scene. The ginger-beer and paper-bag touch and all the ugly evidences of modern industry which thrust themselves to the fore at Niagara are here mercifully lacking. At the Victoria Falls paths have been cut in the woods and seats provided, a circumstance for which one is grateful. Several days are necessary to

see the Falls in detail; and owing to the heat excursions are apt to be tiring. Scrambling about in the bush would be arduous work, and one has no reason to complain of clearances which have been made with care and due regard for beauty. Monkeys are common in the Rain Forest, and very early one morning the sight of two of these animals sitting arm in arm on a bench overlooking the Leaping Water, talking and gesticulating as though pointing out the beauties of the scene to each other, is one of my recollections of the Falls.

One cannot but regret that Livingstone never saw the Falls from this side. We can only wonder, with Baines, how it came about that he paid no visit to the Rain Forest. Baines was the second Englishman to visit the Falls, and he subjected them to a much closer and more detailed examination than Livingstone. His narrative remains one of the most engrossing on record. The privations of these stalwart travellers who penetrated into the heart of Africa when the study of tropical disease was in its infancy, and the latter-day travelling comforts of Piccadilly and Pall Mall were practically unobtainable, should shame the tourists who grumble so heartily at the heat and dust to which they find themselves subjected in the course of a twenty-two hours' journey with sleeping and dining cars from Bulawayo. The tabloids of Messrs. Burroughs & Wellcome might almost dissolve at one portion of Livingstone's narrative, when he remarks quite simply that he attributed his good health on the journey to Loanda to fires at night and baking his own bread in a pot! Livingstone and Baines make light of discomforts, but they must at that time have been severe, and fever an ever-present danger. Baines's drawings of the Falls now rest in the Geographical Society's rooms at Lowther Lodge, but

though interesting sketches, they are not sufficiently accurate to throw any light on a question of the highest scientific interest—whether or not changes are taking place in the physical configuration of the cataract. Livingstone took the view, which was accepted for many years, that cataract and gorge were the product of some vast upheaval, due to volcanic forces. This theory, however, is yielding place to other and yet more remote agencies, that of erosion following the major faults along the basaltic rock of the river-bed. Mr. Arthur Molyneux, F.R.G.S., of Bulawayo, in an able paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, has put forward this view in a convincing manner, and at present it holds the field. But if we are called upon to yield the theory of some great catastrophe bringing the Falls into being in a titanic *coup de théâtre*, the imagination can dwell with even greater awe and wonder on those slow forces of Nature thanks to which the river has worn its way backwards through forty miles of gorge and rapids till confronted with the great basalt wall over which it falls to-day. Whether or not the process is exhausted, and whether in course of time the river will beat its way still farther back, leaving the present Falls but a turn in the zigzag cañon, as it has left other turns below, it is difficult to surmise.

Latter-day geologists would have blessed Livingstone and Baines had it occurred to them to drive any wedges into the banks showing the actual line of the waters. Failing such wedges there can only be speculation as to the rate and degree of the amazing process of erosion which has brought this wonder of the world into existence. Is the cataract retreating along the line of the Leaping Water, the part of the Falls which certainly carries off the greatest volume of water at low river?

Is the eastern cataract more dry than in the days of Livingstone and Baines, a result which inevitably must follow if the main channel on the western bank has cut itself farther back ? The panoramic view of the Falls in Livingstone's book shows an unbroken line of water across to the eastern bank, and, as already noticed, he discovered the Falls at the period when the river is low. That same unbroken line is not to be seen now in November ; neither, to my disappointment, were the five columns of vapour of which he speaks. So low was the river at the time of my visit, that I was able to sit on a rock on the edge of the Rainbow Falls and with tourist self-sufficiency swing my toes over the abyss for the sake of the experience. But the picture is obviously not an accurate drawing, but has been composed by an artist from a description and embellished to taste. Also, of course, the seasons vary, and Livingstone may have struck an unusually high low-water. So these surmises must await the answers which can only be supplied by future generations. At least we may comfort ourselves with the assurance that the processes of erosion are slow, and that the Falls will certainly last our time and that of our immediate successors.

Livingstone, the administrative capital of Northern Rhodesia, is situated seven miles above the Falls on the left bank of the river. It has had the peripatetic career not unusual in the case of South African settlements, and was moved bodily from one side of the river to the other. It is an attractive little outpost where a handful of white men and women are to be found in the midst of a vast native population. A great river is in a real sense a dividing force, and it is curious how different may be the conditions obtaining on the opposite banks of even small streams. Once across the Zambesi one

realises that South Africa is finally left behind, and that the portal of Central Africa—dim, mysterious, largely unexplored—has been reached. I have never known a place where the call of the hinterland was so strong, or the sense of things primitive more alluring. The conditions of government, as I have explained elsewhere, are different in this great northern province from what they are south of the Zambesi. It is no reflection on the latter to say that in Northern Rhodesia one picks up the pioneer spirit of British administration at its best. The Livingstonians are delightful people, from the Administrator, Mr. Wallace, downwards, and no traveller can fail to be struck with the high standard as regards the amenities and courtesies of life which they have created under difficult circumstances. After the English manner they have brought their games with them, and tennis, golf, &c., are vigorously pursued in the midst of more serious work. If the strength of the Catholic Church lies in the fact that it knows no varieties of ritual and ceremony, but may be found in all places and at all times one and the same, the strength of the British race as a colonising power surely lies in the fact that in all times and places they may be found serenely playing with a ball, and, so it seems, incidentally subduing the wilderness and creating good government. Foreigners may scoff at this peculiarity of ours, but certainly the men concerned do these things none the less well for the complete absence of self-consciousness which they bring to their work. The women face the isolation, the heat, and the general limitations of life with much fortitude and a minimum of grumbling. With the woman comes the home, and what home means as a check and restraint on the reckless violence born of the wilds, may well give pause to those who pretend

to despise the hearthstone as an antiquated institution. To travel in the back of beyond, and light on such a spot, is to realise what a woman's influence can really create and uphold. Though it may express itself outwardly in nothing more sensational than cretonne covers, one or two pictures and a few books, the home touch is there ; and with it the desolation and savagery of the wilderness are beaten back. By such service are the verities of the Pax Britannica secured ; those unseen spiritual forces without which no people can hope to finish the course set before them. One scene on the night of my arrival at Livingstone lingers in my mind—a familiar scene which, daily repeated in the heart of Africa as elsewhere, nevertheless seizes on the imagination and speaks of wider things. The sunset hour approaches at the close of a stifling day and the moment of the short twilight is upon us. Like a bronze statue the Barotse sentry, cord in hand, stands by the flagstaff in front of the Residency, waiting for the signal to lower the familiar emblem. The evening gun booms, the bugle sounds, and the half-caught roar of the distant cataract answers their passing challenge. A sharp word of command rings out, the guard salutes, the sentry lowers the flag and folds it up carefully. The brief ritual is over—a daily duty played out as usual, but my memories had fled across the continent, for it was from the roof of the Mahdi's house in Omdurman that I had last watched a similar salute to the flag. As I look on in the rapidly growing darkness from the deep verandah of Mr. Wallace's house, the thought strikes home of the many climes and lands where night and morning this short ceremony becomes the symbol which unites men unknown to each other in the bond of a common service. It is no small task for the men

and women of the outposts to maintain the high tradition of those who have gone before and proved jealous guardians of the race's honour. We do not always recognise with what courage in the main that task is carried through, nor do we make due allowance for those who fail by the way. Each one of us is apt to focus life from too narrow a standpoint, to view it merely through the glasses of our own interests and prejudices. We differ in our estimates as to what constitutes the best and highest form of national service, and to some there is, and there will remain, a sharp antagonism between England the Nation and England the Empire. Yet there are points at which the needs of the slum and the needs of the great spaces touch and join hands—both indeed are but parts of a greater whole. At Livingstone in that twilight hour it seemed a task well worth while to uphold the Pax Britannica within sight and sound of the Smoke that Thunders.

CHAPTER VII

ON A MATABELE LOCATION

How beautiful this dome of sky.
And the vast hills, in fluctuation fix'd
At thy command, how awful !

WORDSWORTH.

EARLY morning in Matabeleland. Though the hour has not touched 7 A.M., already the sunshine spreads strong beams of heat across the veld, and lies warmly on the stoep of the white, thatched building, built on the lines of a Dutch homestead, once the house of Mr. Rhodes, now altered and enlarged for its position as an official residence. Government House, Bulawayo, stands on the site of Lobengula's kraal, three miles outside the town. After the occupation of the country, Mr. Rhodes's imagination was fired by the idea that there should be historical continuity in the seat of government, and so he willed that the administrator's residence should rise from amid the ashes of a savage monarch's stronghold. From the sanitary point of view one marvels that he had the courage for such an enterprise ; but, as in other matters big and small to which he put his hand, what he did was done thoroughly. Cleaning up on a vast scale was essential, but though the process was necessarily continued over years it has been accomplished successfully. Out of the dust and débris Sir

Arthur and Lady Lawley—most popular of administrators and his wife—created a garden where the far-away influence of the stately English pleasaunce makes itself felt in a curious and fascinating manner in the heart of Africa. It is difficult to-day within the walls of the charming country house, or among the flower-beds of the parterre, to conjure up a thought of the horrors which must have taken place on this very spot well within the recollection of one generation. Atmosphere, so real and yet so elusive a thing, conforms apparently to no known rules. Whatever strife and bloodshed marked the events of the past, they have left no ghosts to haunt uneasy dreams at Government House, Bulawayo, but have yielded place entirely to other and more gracious influences. The rising ground, which is reached by a long avenue of not very happy-looking trees, commands one of those vast views which are the special glory of South Africa. Matabeleland is a great, rolling country, less beautiful and diversified from the natural point of view, perhaps, than Mashonaland, but full of charm to those who are subject to the spell of great spaces and great silences. From the stoep of Government House one looks across miles and miles of country to a far-distant kopje, Thabas Indunas, name of woe and evil portent in the days of Lobengula, but a fine, natural object, glowing like an opal of ever-changing colour. And here, in the beautiful garden, where pink-and-white oleander-trees, hedges of plumbago, and great masses of splendid purple bougainvillea stand out in glowing contrast with the drab and dusty veld around, one can still see the council-tree under which, in old days, Lobengula sat with his chiefs, and cast the assegai, showing in which direction the tribes were to scatter for murder and pillage. So few, in

truth, are the years which separate the old, wild savage days from the peace and order of the seemly English garden with its borders and rose-beds.

But the land is crying out for rain. In the memory of the oldest native there has never been a drought so great or so pitiless. Day by day the merciless sun beats down on the parched lands, and we scan the skies in vain for a sight even of one cloud like a man's hand, with an eagerness which brings home the meaning of the old story in the Book of Kings. For 1300 miles and more the country, from the Cape to the Zambesi, is in the same parlous state, and crops wither and cattle die as the sun-god revels in his fierce joy. It is certainly not for an English wanderer, fresh from the damp joys of an English summer, to grumble at the sunshine. But once again, as day by day the drought persists, it is borne in upon one what water and irrigation mean to the future of South Africa.

This morning, however, we are concerned not with agricultural matters, but the more direct human interest of the natives of this country. Under the guidance of the Chief Native Commissioner, Mr. Taylor, we are to see the Matabele at home, and in a condition as little sophisticated as may be. The motor-car throbbing at the door registers one of the most remarkable changes which have taken place since the pre-war days—the whole revolution in values, so far as means of communication are concerned. It is difficult to underrate what the advent of the motor has meant to South Africa, and the extraordinary linking-up of place and distance which has followed in its wake. The old leisurely days of the bullock-wagon and the Cape-cart have to a very large extent been superseded by the strongly built high-powered cars with which one now scours

the high veld in every direction. Little less remarkable, too, is the power of the South African motor for negotiating roads and drifts of a character the very sight of which would cause an English motor to sit down by the roadside in horror and disgust. As we bumped along the rough surface, I thought of certain pampered Panhards and disdainful Daimlers of my acquaintance which might learn with advantage that motors no less than human beings are on occasions all the better for making an effort.

Our destination this particular morning was a Matabele location twenty miles away, of whom the chief, rejoicing in the euphonious name of Mhanqwa Ndiweni, was of kin to Lobengula. This location is 24,000 acres in extent, and about 1200 people—men, women, and children—are settled in it. There are various kraals within the area, but we paid our state visit to the one at which the chief resides. The population, needless to say, turned out in force to receive us, and the sight was one which brought home in a striking way the strange juxtapositions of South Africa—the hurtling of the old order and the new. Here, as the dark faces swarmed round us, we were touching the very heart of all South African problems and difficulties. For the problem of the white races—their competition or their strife—drops away like a dream when confronted with the true reality of the land, the preponderating black masses with which it is populated, and their slow but steady progress from the old savage conditions to conditions little less baffling. The very clothes of our Matabele friends on this occasion were eloquent of the transitional stage we have reached in native life. Some of the older men were dressed as their forefathers, in skins and blankets, but the majority wore more or less

broken-down European clothes. Some of Mhanqwa's men were got up in old khaki coats, relics of the war, with goat-skin loin-cloths and helmets decorated with ostrich feathers. But still more remarkable were a few young men in immaculate tweed suits, with knee-breeches, gaiters, brown boots, high white collars, ties and pins, fresh apparently from the glories of Johannesburg, and passing strange objects among the mud-huts of their home. Outside the enclosure stood a new wagon, just bought by the chief, which must have cost about £80. For these people, in their way, are rich, and the growth of the minor capitalist among the black and coloured peoples of South Africa is one of the economic features of the day. No less remarkable is their passion for education, and the desire shown for it by the native races all over Africa.

Mhanqwa made us welcome with all the dignity of his race. Inside the kraal the primitive round-hut life was being carried on, and yet evidences of change were everywhere. Some of the women wore blankets and others the short, blue, accordion-pleated skirt, like a ruff, peculiar to Matabeleland. Unfortunately, dragged European skirts were but too prominent. Mhanqwa is an able man, trusted by the Government, and leading his people on progressive lines. And yet, without question, the dominant personality of the location was not the chief, but his mother, a pure old savage, draped in a very inadequate blanket, who came out to converse with us. Ugly and wizened though the face, it was full of expression, and the obvious fact that the old lady held the whole kraal in her hand was a curious side-light on the technical subjection of women among savage races. I had brought some trinkets for the women, and the horror displayed by the chief at

the very idea of his wife receiving a present before his mother was almost comic. Great indeed is the power and influence of the mother-in-law among these people, and the meekness of Mhanqwa's wives was another outstanding feature of the situation. The old lady displayed much emotion as she heard from the Commissioner of the death of her niece, formerly queen to Lobengula. Tottering on her stick, she muttered to herself, 'Ah, the other day I fell down, and I knew bad news was coming.' Men, women, and children gathered round in a circle as we talked ; or, rather, as Mr. Taylor talked, with an obvious power of sympathy and understanding which boded well for his rule. Savages they might be, but dignified they were, and, like all primitive peoples, courtesy and justice were the qualities which first and foremost held them. The problem that they present from some points of view appears well-nigh insoluble, but along the same lines of courtesy and justice that solution must be sought, whether or not it be found.

Mhanqwa took us for a walk to see his mealies and cattle. Kafir farming, generally speaking, is of the most wasteful character, but thanks to the progressive turn of mind of their chief, these particular Matabele were better off than the ordinary run of natives. We found some of them busily employed digging a well for irrigation purposes—an unusual enterprise on which Mhanqwa had engaged without prompting of any kind but that of his own good sense. I left the location with real regret and full of surmise about the shy silent women who looked at one across the gulf of race with dark questioning eyes, the depths of which eluded all comprehension. Now and then one of them would go off into fits of laughter as they showed each other the bright-

coloured penknives and buttonhooks, which had found so strange a destination after their journey from Oxford Street. Then silence would fall on the group again and the same question in the eyes would reappear. Some problems make one almost afraid to think, and the only consolation lies in the fact that not infrequently the subject-matter of the gravest difficulties is happily unconscious of the searchings of heart to which it gives rise.

But we must hurry on, for the day's work is as yet hardly begun, and we have many miles to cover and other locations, as well as farms and mines, to visit, before returning to our dwelling place on the site of the king's kraal. Our next visit to a neighbouring location brought us into touch with a very different set of men. After the Matabele rebellion it occurred to Mr. Rhodes in one of his more whimsical moods that he would import a body of Fingoes from Cape Colony to settle in the country and set a good example to the Matabele. The venture may be written off as one of his failures. The Matabele, savages of a far more distinguished type than the Fingoes, remained wholly unimpressed ; whereas the Fingoes soon found that the Sandford and Merton standard set before them was one quite beyond their powers. After a brief and futile effort to live up to this preposterous *rôle* of the good boy they collapsed on to easier lines, and have proved lazy, unprogressive people with strong views as to what should be done for them by Government and little appreciation of what they should do for themselves. The chief, a somewhat villainous-looking old gentleman, received us in great style. Three chairs and a table were produced and set out under a tree. The chief, having whisked into his hut, reappeared to my no small amusement with a

large sheet of foolscap paper which he thrust into our hands. All the men of the location were gathered round squatting on the ground in a circle, and having taken our seats we surveyed each other for a time in that complete silence which forms part of native etiquette on such occasions. The use of an interpreter is another curious feature of interviews held between native chiefs and Commissioners. Although the latter perfectly understand the dialect spoken, this indirect method of address is apparently the custom in such intercourse. The Fingo type was not nearly so handsome as that of the Matabele—a more flattened negroid face with thicker lips. They were full of protestations, but for that very reason gave one a far less genuine and pleasant impression than the men we had just visited. The chief led off with a series of flowery, not to say fulsome, compliments. How fortunate were the Fingoes that day, inasmuch as such great and wonderful people had paid a visit to their habitation. Yes, the drought was severe, but now the lady from over the seas had come to see them she would most certainly bring rain and good fortune with her—a compliment which the lady in question received with as much composure as she could muster. Rain of course must fall now and their troubles be at an end. No, they had not dug a well. A pained expression came over the chief's face at the unkind suggestion. Did they not know that their father the Commissioner would remember their needs and not let his children starve? Would not the Government see to it that, when misfortunes befell them in time of drought, such calamities were made good to them? The desultory compliments merged more and more into a long list of definite grumblings which at last Mr. Taylor

cut short by rising and bringing the interview to a close. Meanwhile I was looking at the clear bronze sky overhead, surreptitiously out of the corner of one eye, and calculating with uneasy mind my chances of living up to this new reputation of rain-maker among the Fingoes. The Chief burst into compliments again as I presented him in turn with one of the bright enamelled penknives which had excited admiration at Mhanqwa's kraal. But luck was with me on this occasion. Rain, as it happened, fell shortly after our visit, and the last I heard of my penknife was that it was hanging charm-like round the Chief's swarthy neck, while my stock as a drought-breaker apparently stood high among his tribe.

On again, this time to lunch with Mr. Bertie Finn, a prosperous and progressive Rhodesian, who has a large farm of some 7000 acres in the Bembesi district, fitted up with every modern appliance. Such a place is an excellent object-lesson of what a stock farm combined with several hundred acres under cultivation can be made in Rhodesia when capacity and hard work go to the task. Mr. Finn has been a real pioneer in the matter of winter feeding for cattle, and makes large quantities of silage from mealies. Consequently, despite the drought, he had lost no cattle when his neighbours' herds were suffering heavily. Near at hand was the Queen's Mine, a small proposition when compared with the great enterprises on the Rand, but following the same process of crushing and extraction so far as the gold was concerned.

Our luncheon party with Mr. Finn was a merry one. Some purposeful-looking farmers were present; and agriculture, natives, politics, the deeds and misdeeds of the Chartered Company, were all discussed with fluency and vigour. We left our genial hosts with

regret, but the day's tour was too long to admit of much loitering by the way. Then at last we turned our helm in the direction of Bulawayo, as the sun began to dip towards the western horizon and the car sped homewards across the veld. The most beautiful, the most intoxicating part of the day was yet to come with the sunset hour. On these great plains the sense of land is almost lost, and like a ship at sea it is as though one ploughed not the veld but the waters of some vast ocean. The western horizon lay before us, a wonderful line of indigo; above that the sky was a clear yellow, shading into *eau de nil* and opalescent lights. Then came a mass of clouds, heavy, molten, glorious, shading into purple, grey, and pink. Behind, the eastern horizon lay grey and blue; around us in the foreground were spread the cooler neutral shades of the veld, splashed here and there with the fresh green of tree or bush. The trees stood up like delicate silhouettes against the purple of the sky, and their effect, under the slanting rays of the sun, reminded me, by a sharp contrast of ideas, of an Umbrian picture. Here, too, as in the Matoppos, the rocks, the aloofness of landscape set one thinking in an odd way of Leonardo and his work. Shall we marvel that in a country so far removed from literary and artistic experience, the mellow glories of that Saturnian land of Italy should rise not infrequently before one's eyes? Surely not. Great art and great nature go hand in hand. All genius has a sweep more profound than its actual age or the actual conditions it describes. In so far as it is genius at all, it speaks for all times and peoples and climes, and makes its appeal throughout the ages. That the wilds should recall images of the great masters in poetry, music, and art is, after all, very natural, for the noblest expression of

the one will always be ultimately concerned with that of the other. Things primitive and things eternal spring from a fountain-head near akin ; and where Nature is free, glorious, and untrammelled, Art, which seeks to catch and fix some aspect of her changing but ever-eternal life, can never be far distant from our hearts and minds.

CHAPTER VIII

LADYSMITH

Counting the quest to avenge her honour as the most glorious of all ventures, and leaving Hope, the uncertain goddess, to send them what she would, they faced the foe as they drew near him in the strength of their own manhood ; and when the shock of battle came they chose rather to suffer the uttermost than to win life by weakness. So their memory has escaped the reproaches of men's lips, but they bore instead on their bodies the marks of men's hands, and in a moment of time, at the climax of their lives, were rapt away from a world filled for their dying eyes not with terror but with glory. . . . So they gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received each for his own memory praise that will never die and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid but a home in the minds of men where their glory remains afresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by.

PERICLES IN THE 'FUNERAL ORATION.'

MORE than any other part of South Africa, Natal is associated with memories of valour and disaster. It was in Zululand that the great military despotism of Chaka took its rise, and from here that his impis carried sword and slaughter throughout the land. Isandhlwana, Rorke's Drift, Majuba, Ladysmith—these are names both of famous and unhappy memory ; and twice the uplands of Natal have witnessed conflicts between Boer and British on which the destinies of the whole country have hung. I am told that there is nothing in South Africa to compare with the unique panorama of hill and plain which enfolds itself from the slopes of the Himalayas ; but India is to me an

unknown land, and I can only speak of what I have seen. Personally I know no scenery to equal the point where the green plateau of the Transvaal, so flat that all sense of its altitude is lost, merges into the barrier mountains of the Drakensberg and the high lands of Natal. For vastness and grandeur it must be counted among the great views of any continent. One has the sensation not only of being on the roof of the world, but actually of looking over its edge. From the top of Van Reenen's Pass, or from the Ingogo heights where Majuba dominates the scene, the eye ranges as far as it can reach over a sea of mountains, falling, falling, sheer below, apparently into space. Not only the altitude at which one stands, but the break of the land downwards, first in precipices, then in a succession of great rolling hills, gives the most extraordinary impression of illimitable space and distance. This is in a very literal sense to have the world at one's feet; for there seems no end set to this great stairway stretching upwards in mammoth steps between heaven and earth. At twilight, when all evidences of man's presence are lost to sight, it is a wild impressive scene, which recalls the sinister mountains of 'Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came' where—

The hills, like giants at a hunting, lay,
Chin upon hand, to see the game at bay.

As the railway winds in and out either in laborious ascent or in no less careful descent, one recalls the adventure of the Trek Boers who first of white men penetrated the barrier range of the Drakensberg from the interior, and descended from the mountains into the lower reaches of Natal, founding Pietermaritzburg

in 1838 as capital of the tiny Dutch Republic of Natalia. Here they hoped to make for themselves a home free from the encroaching presence of the English ; and here they were compelled after six troubled years once again to acknowledge British sovereignty, or retreat across the mountains in anger and disappointment to the fastnesses of the Transvaal. This was the period of Weenen, of Dingaan's Day, of those fierce struggles in the remote interior of the itinerant Boers with the Zulu hosts. Conflicts between natives and white men can seldom stir us to enthusiasm. The upshot is always too much of a foregone conclusion for the side armed with machine guns. But the case of the Trek Boers against the disciplined Zulu hosts was a very different matter. No inherent advantage in this instance lay with the white men, and the courage and daring of their native campaigns is a page of history on which the South African nation of the future will dwell with pride. Some seventy years after Dingaan's Day which broke the Zulu power, the Boers were once again to find themselves in conflict amid the uplands of Natal with another and a greater foe. And of these things so long as South Africa exists the name of Ladysmith will tell.

I have spoken in several places of the real effort of imagination necessary when travelling through South Africa to reconstruct any phase of the great conflict which rent the land in twain. One traverses battle-fields in no ways distinguishable to-day from any other part of the all-embracing veld. From the windows of the railway carriage, as one goes up country to Kimberley, possibly during the long monotonous journey one may wonder idly why at intervals traces of stone circles like the primitive remains on Dartmoor are to be seen

close to the line. It is with a real thrill that one is told these are the last vestiges of the blockhouses which for hundreds of miles guarded the lines of communication. When the very occasional rivers (or rather their beds) are crossed, remains of a more solid character come into sight, for the blockhouses guarding a bridge were of greater importance than the smaller stations on the line itself. But generally speaking there is nothing to be seen on the battle-fields save the obelisks telling of the valour and services of the dead, and the pathetic burying-grounds where they sleep. These resting places on the veld are the new feature of the land since I knew it before the war. There is something inexpressibly poignant about these groups of graves : these tiny patches telling their tale of death and suffering under the clear South African sky. They are carefully tended by the group of South African women who have devoted themselves so admirably to this pious office. But already it is as though Nature had passed her healing hand over all outer aspects of strife and bloodshed, and I had the impression of mounds, all struggle at an end, falling back wearily into the arms of Mother Earth herself. Nowhere can this impression of peace following on storm be stronger than at Ladysmith. There were districts of South Africa during the Boer war where the struggle was waged in a light or desultory manner. Not so here. The terrible roll-call of death round the walls of the church visualises with appalling force what the valour and the sufferings of the siege must have been. The inhabitants who went through that grim experience and tell one of its incidents, do so with the extreme simplicity born of first-hand contact with the great realities of life and death. Theirs is no grandiloquent record of suffering

and adventure, but just a simple narrative of events of which they speak in quite ordinary language. To hear them talk, one would imagine that a siege of five months' duration, with all its attendant miseries of hunger, suffering, and disease, was part of the normal experience in the life of the average citizen. But this very simplicity, this lack of self-pity, serves each moment to deepen one's admiration for the men and women who passed through such an ordeal in this high spirit. You must not expect any dramatic narrative of the war from those who bore the brunt of the South African struggle. They are dramatic in what they do not say, and in the casual revelations which accidentally they disclose. Such remarks as 'one tin of condensed milk for forty men in hospital didn't go very far, you see, however much we let it down with water,' or 'we couldn't keep some of the enterics when they came out of hospital from picking up and eating bits of raw bone, they were so hungry, poor fellows, and there was so little food, but of course it killed them,' or 'one got accustomed to the bombardment; their gunnery was very bad; besides, bells were always rung when a shell was fired and we generally had time to get into the shelters before it exploded';—stories of this kind make the heart contract in a way which drives home the realities of the siege as no written narrative can ever hope to do. And as one listens, pain for human suffering, pride in the unconquerable power of man's spirit to rise above the transitory things of existence struggle within one for mastery. That mingled note of pain and pride is one which every English person must surely feel to be uppermost at Ladysmith; pain and pride not only for and in those whose names are written on the roll of fame, but for others no less worthy of

a nation's gratitude. The world's coarse thumb is always apt to ignore the persistent heroism of which human nature in a quiet way is capable. Our imaginations are easily stirred when some great and obvious deed of valour rivets public attention in a dramatic way, but we underrate the daily heroisms carried out by thousands of obscure folk of whom the world has never heard. 'That things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been,' writes George Eliot in one of her finest phrases, 'is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life and rest in unvisited tombs.' Of such faithful and obscure lives there are thousands to-day in South Africa; men and women who went through the furnace without a murmur, and are wholly devoid of consciousness even that their behaviour was anything out of the ordinary. But these are in very truth the makers of a nation's greatness, and, at however bitter a price, South Africa possesses such sowers in her fields to-day. At Ladysmith as elsewhere no visible evidences of the struggle remain, and it is difficult to associate the broken clock-tower of the Town Hall, deliberately retained in the same state as when fractured by a Boer shell, with a siege which has become famous in the annals of the British army.

The chances of travel brought me to Ladysmith for the Christmas festival; the further chances of travel willed that I should come to it direct from General Botha's house at Standerton, with his narrative of Colenso and Spion Kop fresh in my mind. I arrived in the middle of the night, and my first impression the next morning was that I had made some mistake, and left the train at the wrong place. This peaceful, sunny little town with houses set in gardens bright with

flowers, could this really be Ladysmith? Was this the spot on which through the weeks of a weary winter our hearts were once fixed in the keenest anxiety and suspense? As I looked in perplexity and surprise at the roses and flowering shrubs and attractive bungalows, my mind harked back to a chill November Sunday in an English industrial town, where a group of men had gathered in silence round the post office window on which was posted a telegram signed by a general telling of desperate fight in this very place and ending with the ominous words 'very hard pressed.' And this gay little town busy with its Christmas shopping and decorations, but a few years before had been the theatre of such events as those of which the telegram spoke! As I looked up and around at the guardian hills lying peacefully in the sunshine, to invest them with cannon and the grim apparatus of death and destruction was an effort of the imagination too great to be achieved this Christmas Eve. But we may recognise with thankfulness that, whatever the sufferings of Ladysmith, these things have not been endured wholly in vain. Hung up in the entrance of the hotel was a proclamation, the force of which struck home here of all places. With the Royal Arms at its head, with the signature of General Smuts, a Boer leader, at its foot, this proclamation by the Union Government called on the youth of South Africa to register themselves under the provisions of the Defence Act for a common civic duty—the raising of the military forces necessary for the protection of South Africa. 'The Defence Force is going to do more for the peace of this country in bringing men together than any other influence in it,' so said one of its officers to me. And under the shadow of Wagon Hill one prays that the words may be true.

Ladysmith is situated on a slope near the Klip River, some thirty miles from the foot of the Drakensberg Range. Colenso and the Tugela River lie seventeen miles to the south, and the country immediately round the town is more flat and open than I for one had realised. The lie of the land is pretty and undulating, with surrounding hills in the distance. The little town has no architectural pretensions, but it possesses this odd charm so curiously out of keeping with its grim history. The centre, so to speak, of a large saucer, with hills all round, the disadvantages of Ladysmith as a place of siege are obvious to the most untrained eye. With the Boers in possession of Umbulwana, the large dominating hill six miles away, the long-drawn-out defence becomes the more remarkable or the Boer generalship the more defective—a point about which naturally I do not profess to speak. Wagon Hill is within a short distance of the town, and here again the merest amateur can grasp its vital importance to the defence. The view from the top of Wagon Hill stretching away towards the Free State border is very fine, and looking down on Ladysmith it is easy to follow the line of the British defences and then the circle of outer hills occupied by the Boers. Far away to the right, across the undulating country, the outline of Spion Kop eighteen miles distant was visible. Such an expedition as this is indeed to see history reconstruct itself before one's eyes and become a living thing. I walked from one end of the ridge to the other, every step full of poignant interest. There on the summit lay the little plain, about 150 yards wide, across which the three companies of the Devons charged in the desperate action of January 6, and so saved the day when the Boers had nearly captured the hill. Had

Wagon Hill been lost no power on earth could have saved Ladysmith, and, with the fall of Ladysmith, consequences must have followed of incalculable gravity to England and the Empire. But as one bows the head before the burying-place where the dead lie on the scene of their victory, the thought arises that some men are happier greatly dying, than others meanly living. What are life and death after all but opportunities through which human nature may manifest the imperishable spirit within itself? But the heart is wrung as one looks at the graves; so pitifully young were many of the boys who sleep here—lads of 21, of 22, of 23, belonging chiefly to the Gordon Highlanders, the Devonshire Regiment, and the Imperial Light Horse. To look with eyes undimmed at the long row of crosses and memorials must be a task beyond the fortitude of most people. But the true note of pride and victory rising above sorrow and loss is struck by the noble inscription on the memorial to the Imperial Light Horse adapted by Edmund Garrett from the celebrated lines in which Simonides of Ceos immortalised the fame of Thermopylae:

Tell England, ye who pass this monument,
That we who died serving her rest here content.

That is, after all, the spirit which speaks from every rock and stone round Ladysmith, and it is the great, the only consolation, that we may dare offer to those who mourn their dead in this place.

For Ladysmith is indeed a place of tombs and memories, despite the peace and brightness of her outer appearance. Round the walls of the church are inscribed the names of no fewer than 3200 men who fell in action or died of disease during the defence

and relief of the town. In the beautiful cemetery, kept with the scrupulous care which is so admirable a feature of the South African graveyards, the same story is repeated. This is a shady and peaceful God's acre, planted with trees and flowers—to me at least possessing a far-away resemblance to the English cemetery in Rome where Shelley's ashes rest hard by Aurelian's wall. But it is above all on Spion Kop, where I spent an unforgettable Christmas Day, that the heart fails one before the evidences of the tragic events and blunders of the place. The town the previous night had been agog with merry-makers. Children were laughing, shouting, and letting off squibs and crackers in the streets. The hotel itself was preparing for great efforts in the way of turkey and plum pudding: no detail of the English ritual being omitted in South Africa whether suited or not to the midsummer heat. My dinner was saved for me religiously, as unavoidably I missed the mid-day meal at which high revel was held. To associate the hot summer night with Christmas festivities seemed well-nigh impossible; but as a party of waits passed beneath my window, singing 'Christians, awake!' a sharp pang of home-sickness mingled with the familiar air, and I longed for the fog and wet of England and all that England held. It was late before the town fell asleep, and we were up betimes so as to cover some portion of the eighteen miles' drive before the fierce heat of noon. The road passes Wagon Hill and stretches away across a flat, bare country towards the Drakensberg, which stands like a mammoth sunk fence on the horizon. Once again the open stretch of country, absolutely devoid of tree or shade of any kind, came as a surprise. Here and there as the Cape-cart jogged along we saw a few

scattered farms and a number of Kafir kraals. Spion Kop itself is a rugged mass of rock standing up out of the plain and, as one approaches from the Ladysmith side, discloses two peaks to the left and a long hog's-back to the right where most of the fighting took place. In the background stands the great ridge of the Drakensberg, and between Spion Kop and the mountains lies the Tugela river winding down to Colenso. From the summit General Buller's headquarters and the whole British position and the river could be seen at a glance. I was wholly devoid of military guidance at Ladysmith, and despite the information supplied by the intelligent half-caste driver, who had been through the siege, a hundred questions rose to my mind which necessarily remained unanswered. One asks, looking round at the open country in the perplexity of entire ignorance, what possible end could be served by an excursion over this isolated hill? The old rhyme—

The famous Duke of York! he had ten thousand men;
He marched them up to the top of the hill, and marched
them back again—

swept into my mind and refused to be dislodged. It is a hot scramble up the hill from the east side, the side on which General Botha's forces were established. But when one looks down from the summit on the almost sheer ascent up which the English came on the far side facing the Tugela, it is difficult to imagine how armed men could have scaled the heights at all, the more so that they came up in a fog. The view all round is glorious—Natal lying spread out below; the great mountain rampart propping up Basutoland to the north and west; the river flowing like a ribbon at one's feet. Such utter peace reigned there that

Christmas Day—the peace of God enfolding the dead; but my thoughts were away in England. What of the many homes where some sorrowing heart was turned on the occasion of this festival so specially consecrated to the joys and memories of childhood and the family to the spot on which I stood: mothers whose sons slept in the terrible trenches close at hand; wives who never more would hear the echo of some loved step returning at the close of the day's work? It is impossible to convey any sense of the utter silence and solemnity of the scene, though, in homely phraseology, it is very necessary to take a pull at oneself as one walks along the line of trenches and realises that they are one long tomb: for the bulk of the men killed were buried where they fell. The Boers had established themselves on a small peak to the left commanding the hog's back, and from there, and also from Green Hill, they enfiladed the unhappy English troops packed tightly on the ridge. I was told there was a good spring of water within a hundred yards of where they lay under the blazing sun, but no one knew it. It is for others to write of the military aspects of the fight and the tragic blunders which marked its course. General Botha told me that the scene after his terrible victory, when he came up on the hill the following morning, was one of which he could not bring himself to speak. Looking away towards Ladysmith it is easy to realise the awful suspense with which the hard-pressed garrison on Wagon Hill must have watched the struggle. One day they had seen all the Boer tents disappear from the hillside and they thought relief had come. The next the tents had reappeared and they knew the attempt had failed. On Spion Kop friend and foe rest side by side in the great final

reconciliation of death. The Boer graves are marked as carefully as those of the English. 'Here rest Brave Burghers' — 'Here rest Brave English Soldiers,' run the words on the white crosses pointing Heavenwards, eternal emblems of hope which speak of suffering turned at last to joy. And for us who come to stand by their graves with grief and reverence in our hearts, surely from these tombs comes not a whisper but a clear and urgent command. For well may the dead on the one side or the other cry outraged from their graves, if we, the living, with our miserable dissensions trample under foot the only worthy monument we can raise to those who fell—the peace and unity of the land for which they gave their lives. Racial bitterness and political intrigues appear contemptible indeed when confronted with the trenches of Spion Kop. This sacred guardianship of the dead throughout South Africa should be the true corrective of racial animosity; the check on all unworthy impulse among her sons; the spur to all noble effort. Leave cynics and materialists to scoff as they may, the world lies ever open to the conquest of the great idea, and those who will with lofty purpose mould history to their liking. Let it be therefore on the battle-fields of South Africa that Boer and Briton together in the spirit of Gettysburg highly resolve that these dead 'shall not have died in vain,' and that the nation for which both have suffered so profoundly shall know in very truth through their service and their sacrifice a new birth of freedom.

CHAPTER IX

THE COUNTRY OF THE VAN DER STELS

Mihi corolla pieta vere ponitur,
 Mihi rubens arista sole fervido,
 Mihi virente dulcis uva pampino,
 Mihique glauca duro oliva frigore.

CATULLUS.

THE Cape Peninsula and the south-west corner of the Cape Province stand by themselves in South Africa both as regards beauty and historical association. The district, about a hundred miles in length, through which the train passes from Cape Town to the foot of the Hex River Mountains is quite untypical of the rest of the country. It is a district of most rare charm and beauty; in its way one of the most beautiful in the world. This is not Nature in rugged or savage mood, for despite the hills and the guardian Table Rock the impression is one of loveliness that woos rather than of grandeur that compels. This is not the Nature that speaks in the tempest and earthquake, overwhelming man with the consciousness that his days are but a shadow. Rather is it Nature in kindly forthcoming mood, bidding man rejoice in his strength, as he reaps the fruits of field and vineyard, or rests, his labours completed, beneath the shadow of her benevolence. The melancholy of the high veld yields place here to beauty with a smile on her lips.

But it is beauty of a nature far removed from that of the English countryside. Africa is not sportive in any part of her coasts; suffering has laid too heavy a hand on her for that. It would not occur to one to connect this landscape with the pure *joie de vivre* of a Chaucer, a Shakespeare, a Keats, singing of English birds, and flowers in the glory of a spring morning. Chaucer's 'lutel foul,' Shelley's skylark rising in ecstasy to the heavens, speak with a careless rapture which has no counterpart here. Blake's immortal lines—

Piping down the valleys wild,
Piping songs of pleasant glee—

all that gay challenge of the child sitting on a cloud to the piper with his reed could never have been written among the oak groves and vineyards of the Peninsula shadowed by mountains within sight and sound of the eternal sea. There is a psychology of nations just as much as of individuals. The great images of poetry and literature evoked by them are of very different types, and it is hard to say why certain associations attach themselves to the one rather than the other. We cannot tell why England, an old country, burdened with fame and manifold responsibilities, should yet retain in her literature this perennial note of joyous youth; while South Africa, a young nation, leaves this outstanding impression of sobriety and dignity. In her case the note, even when most beautiful, most romantic, is mellow and golden rather than intoxicating. It is the country of Portia rather than of Rosalind. We think there not of the recesses of Arden with its vagabond band, but of the enchantment of the moonlit garden on the Brenta and its guests. One feels instinctively in the Peninsula that the presiding

muse wears the stately garb of classical rather than of romantic poetry. The great masters of song which pass before our eyes are those of Greece and Rome, not of England or the North. Theocritus, still more Virgil, might have sung of the valleys of French Hoek and the Drakenstein; for this fair valley land with its oaks, and vineyards, and wheat fields is the country of the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics*. The great grey mountains, worn and rugged, sweep down with even folds into the corn fields below. During harvest-time the foreground is like a sheet of molten gold—gold varied by the brilliant green of vineyards or ripening orchards. The old colonial houses shine out white and gleaming from the oak groves which shelter them. No harsh industrialism has laid a bitter hand upon this district—one is less conscious here than elsewhere of that all-pervading touch of sadness which has entered into the being of South Africa. It is a fair portal to the somewhat ungracious North, where more primitive forces are met with—this land of verdure, of running water, of great peace; but a peace not so overwhelming as the solitudes of the high veld.

The advent of the motor has made all this district accessible as never before. Stellenbosch, Paarl, French Hoek, Somerset West have now been brought within reach of a day's excursion from Cape Town, and tourists and travellers are becoming more and more familiar with the beauties of the old colonial houses which date from the period of the Van der Stels. As one is carried across the Cape Flats towards the mountains of the Drakenstein and the Hottentots Holland with the blue waters of False Bay to the right, the scene is extraordinarily suggestive of the Campagna. Like the Campagna, too, in the spring-time it is a sheet of flowers. No

words can describe the beauty of a Cape spring when the arums, the watsonias, the sparaxis, and babianas, and a host of others, mixed with the multifarious heaths—white, pink, scarlet—lie like a great variegated carpet glowing beneath the perfect blue of Heaven. The corn, the vineyards, the wide stretches of grey rhenoster bush, the umbrella pines, the persistent note of the cicada—all this recalls Italy and the classical atmosphere of which I have spoken. Only a line of broken aqueducts is lacking to make the illusion complete. Here, in the lines of Catullus which stand at the head of this chapter, is the variegated garland of the spring, the ruddy ear of grain when the soil is warmed, the sweet bunch of grapes when the foliage of the vine is flourishing. Only the grey olive is lacking; but on Table Mountain at least it finds a worthy representative in the soft sheen of the beautiful and unique silver tree. A fair land indeed; and our thoughts must turn in gratitude to that striking personality, Simon Van der Stel, who has left so broad a mark on the early days and development of South Africa. Van der Stel was a great planter and a great builder. To his spacious spirit we owe not only the oaks and vineyards of the Cape but the inspiration of the beautiful houses which are the peculiar charm of the Peninsula. An able administrator, it was 'by his persistent efforts' (writes the late Mr. Leibbrandt, formerly Keeper of the Cape Archives) 'that he converted the barren hills and dales of this Peninsula and of the Paarl and Stellenbosch into fruitful corn-fields and vineyards, that everywhere he planted forests and avenues of oaks which at the present day still testify to his indefatigable efforts and complete success.' It is no less interesting to find that Simon

Van der Stel did not confine his attentions to agriculture, but sent an expedition into the interior in search of copper which penetrated as far as Namaqualand.

To have accomplished so much before the days of modern communication proves boundless energy and resource, qualities which marked several of the leading figures among the Dutch pioneers. Jan Van Riebeck, the first Commander at the Cape, a bad-tempered, capable little man, known as "the little thornback," left South Africa in 1662 after a residence of ten years. Of Dutch phlegm, there was certainly no trace in his vigorous and irascible personality, and within a short period of time he had accomplished much for the infant settlement of his foundation. The vine was introduced from Germany in his time, and some day perhaps the Cape Archives will reveal what experiments were made in forestry before the oak established itself with such signal success in the country—a point on which it would be interesting to have some information. Simon Van der Stel became Governor sixteen years later in 1678, and under his influence the Colony was swept into development on a scale previously unknown. Simon Van der Stel was the first of a series of great men not only to love South Africa but to have boundless faith in its future. His broad horizon was not to be circumscribed by a cabbage garden for diseased sailors under the shadow of Table Mountain, or the need of securing fresh water for passing ships. Pushing across the Flats he, first of all Europeans, colonised the beautiful valleys of the Drakenstein and Hottentots Holland. Stellenbosch, called after himself and his wife, whose maiden name was Bosch, was the earliest of these settlements, having been laid out in 1681, while Paarl

was colonised by the Huguenot refugees early in the eighteenth century. In the neighbourhood comprised by Groot Drakenstein, French Hoek, and Somerset West the indefatigable Dutch settlers with their oaks and vineyards little by little transformed the face of the countryside; and here sprang up many of the colonial homesteads of whose origin we know so little, but whose beauties raise so many questions. It is, however, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town itself that the noblest example of Simon Van der Stel's powers as a builder still remains to the delight of all who behold it. Some ten miles from Cape Town, near Wynberg, stands the stately house surrounded by great oaks known as Groot Constantia, now a Government wine farm, but in a special sense the pride of the Peninsula. It is situated among natural surroundings of extraordinary beauty, and round it are scattered, like the guardian gems of some great jewel, a group of houses dating from the same period: Hoop op Constantia, built as an official guest-house; Klein Constantia, built for Simon Van der Stel's daughter Katryna; Nova Constantia, less interesting; and a charming house of somewhat later date possessing the attractive name of 'Buitenverwachting' (beyond expectation). Beyond expectation beautiful it all is, and as the charm of these old houses grows and grows the more one sees of them, the question then arises—who were their architects and builders? who were these unknown designers and master workers? for it is absurd to suppose that the proportions and gables of the best of the Cape colonial houses sprang from the mediocre hand and brain of the average builder and plasterer of the time. The work is often rough, as though the inspiration had outstripped the available means of material and

execution. The houses are not all of the same quality ; many of them are just farmhouses adapted to the needs of what we should call in this country a minor squirearchy. But at Constantia, at Morgenster, at Meerheust, at Stellenberg, at Nooitgedacht, it is impossible not to feel the influence of a finer hand and brain than any of which we have the record.

It is only of late years that South Africans themselves have awoke to the consciousness of their national possession in the matter of these fine old colonial houses. It is not a little curious that the Dutch, who have so strong, indeed at times so aggressive, a sense of nationality, have yet shown so little appreciation for the most valuable evidences of that nationality which the country holds. While heart and soul may be flung into some squabble over bi-lingualism or dual medium, a fine old Dutch house is allowed to disappear before the attacks of the jerry-builder without a murmur. One would gladly welcome a diversion of the spirit which guards certain aspects of the race so jealously to a more jealous guardianship of the national memorials. By one of the many paradoxes of the country, it is the English section who stand watch and ward over the old houses to-day and are always rousing the Dutch to efforts on behalf of their ancestral homes. The awakening, alas ! has come too late in many cases to prevent the most appalling vandalisms being perpetuated under the baleful name of restoration. The delightful old towns of Stellenbosch and Paarl are modernised—vulgarised were the better word—to-day out of all recognition. Set among their great avenues of splendid oak trees and umbrella pines, it is in grief of spirit that one reconstructs their original appearance. Gone are the stoeps with their high pillars ;

gone are the reed-thatched roofs. In their place reigns a sea of corrugated iron, naked and unashamed, with verandahs of ornate ironwork which give one a pain across the eyes. The old teak windows of many panes have been ruthlessly torn out and replaced by modern sashes and plate glass. Inside, the same dreary vandalisms have left a desolation as great. The fine old furniture and household effects of the eighteenth-century Dutch settlers have in the main been dispersed. They are replaced by bric-à-brac, plush, and ornamental suites of a character on which Tottenham Court Road would turn its back in disgust. There are of course exceptions, but it is a curious contrast to pay a visit to one of these old houses, to find their owners the most courteous, the most dignified of men and women, and yet to find that the artistic sense of their forefathers has vanished as completely among them as the personal tradition of good breeding has survived intact. The shell of the house and its fine proportions remain, the manners and appearance of the owners are all in the picture; it is on the wall-papers, the coloured photographs, the tawdry china, the plush furniture, that one desires to fall like a decorative Attila or Sennacherib in his wrath. Luckily to the merits and demerits of the present situation a large number of South Africans of both races are increasingly alive, though the impetus has come entirely from the English. The country owes a great debt to Mr. Herbert Baker, whose modern houses built on the lines of the old ones have done so much to rouse interest in the striking and original school of architecture evolved at the Cape from the days of the Van der Stels onwards. Another enthusiast, Miss Dorothea Fairbridge, herself a member of a well-known Cape family, has done much

by her researches in the Archives to rouse interest in the old colonial life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In a series of delightful articles giving detailed studies of the houses both in the Peninsula and in other districts colonised by the Van der Stels, Miss Fairbridge has brought to light much valuable material and information about Dutch architecture and Dutch social life during the period we are covering. I was fortunate enough on several occasions to visit some of the old houses under her guidance and to have an opportunity of discussing with her the many conjectures to which they give rise.

In the introduction contributed by Mr. Herbert Baker to Mrs. Trotter's charming book 'Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope,' the former states that in the main there are two types of ground plan almost universal in the larger Cape colonial houses. One is an H-shaped house turned sideways, the living rooms consisting of the two uprights joined by a hall; the front of the house surrounded by its stoep or terrace corresponding to the broad part of the H, in the centre of which is the entrance. In the second, the H remains upright; the rooms, as you enter, instead of being extended to right and left are placed lengthways; and the distance between them is taken up by the hall, the back of which is almost invariably divided from what is known as the *voorstuk*, by a carved and louvred wood screen made of yellow wood, stinkwood, &c. These screens are a special feature of the houses, and the carving in many cases is of fine workmanship. The rooms are all on the ground floor, and the general plan is cool, spacious, airy, and well adapted to the needs of a hot climate. A single thatch roof spans the rooms, with a loft over the entrance; the roof breaking into

a gable at this point often with a stone pediment and side scrolls. Reverting to the H-shaped figure, we find both ends of the vertical lines no less ornamented with gables which serve as a wall screen. It has been the custom up till now to speak somewhat lightly of the Cape colonial house as showing interesting but not particularly good work. But the detailed studies made by Miss Fairbridge of the gables and the excellent photographs of them now available, reveal a much higher standard artistically and architecturally than was at first suspected. The modern school of Cape architecture is doing admirable work. It is, I hope, no reflection on its authors to suggest that there is as yet no rivalry between the best of the new and the best of the old. In proportion, in outline, in moulding, in all those indefinable yet most real factors which in literature or art go to make up that rare but precious element we call *quality*, the colonial houses of Simon Van der Stel and his successors stand in a class far removed from the modern buildings which are withal so pleasant and welcome a feature of the land.

The gables of the old houses show variety of type, but in the main they resolve themselves like the ground plans into two large groups: a high straight gable like a tombstone with scrolls at the side—the Constantia type; and a broad-based gable wreathing itself upwards in a series of scrolls and curves—the Morgenster type. Mr. Baker, in Mrs. Trotter's book to which I have just referred, finds prototypes of both these gables in Amsterdam, and thinks they reflect Dutch influence throughout in their origin, though in his opinion the second and broader gable has developed quite original features. At a later stage the classical revival certainly touched South Africa, and columns and pilasters appear,

as in many of the Stellenbosch houses and the balcony in the courtyard of the Castle at Cape Town. But though the tombstone type of gable recalls Holland, and certainly seems to point to Dutch influence, I for one cannot escape from a great sense of French influence in the second type of broad incurved or wreathed gable. I venture the suggestion with all diffidence, for there are really no data to go upon. But the strength of the work, the beauty of the curves, the free handling of the plaster, rightly or wrongly, perpetually set me thinking of the towns and castles on the Loire and all that beautiful flower of the French Renaissance in architecture cut short so miserably by the Wars of Religion. Goujon, whose name rises to the mind in this connection, perished in the St. Bartholomew massacres in 1561. The influence, if influence there were, from this school would be an indirect and much later one, for Constantia was not begun till 1685. But in the entire absence of facts, inquirers are apt to take to the dangerous course of speculation and searching of their own bones, and it is difficult not to feel this French influence in one's bones; wherever it came from. This particular speculation is; after all, not unreasonable when one remembers the Huguenot element which came to settle in the country. The first French immigrants reached South Africa in 1689. Their arrival coincided with a period corresponding to the great building activity of Simon Van der Stel. The conjecture that among the refugees there may have been craftsmen who brought with them to South Africa not only French talent but skilled French craftsmanship is not an impossible one where all is conjecture. At Morgenster, the beautiful residence of Mrs. Alexander Van der Byl near Somerset West, the sense of this

French influence forced itself on me strongly. The house rivals even Groot Constantia in the beauty of its architecture and natural setting, though it lacks the wonderful view over False Bay with the foreground of vineyards which ravishes the eye from the stoep of Simon Van der Stel's house. The gable over the front door, with its great scrolls ending in a shell-like apex, is one of the finest in South Africa ; for this is beauty springing not out of prettiness but out of strength, and one cannot look at the curves and scroll work of the Morgenster gables without feeling that they were moulded by a sure hand guided by a fine spirit. It is difficult to convey the charm of this old house set among its oak trees, a brook babbling by the white-pillared stoep hung with vines and creepers. Near at hand is Vergelegen, the celebrated farm of the ill-fated Adrian Van der Stel, Simon's son and successor, who became the centre of one of the most stormy intrigues ever conducted in South Africa, and—as it now appears, unjustly—was degraded from his high office and banished from the country—the first but by no means the last of the men who have loved and served South Africa to whom that treatment has been meted out. 'What mean ye by these stones?' is a question uppermost in one's mind as one visits these old houses ; and the question has to remain a question, for of facts there is an entire and disconcerting absence.

I was told by Miss Fairbridge that it was very difficult to arrive at the dates of the houses, let alone the names of the builders. Land was sometimes leased and a house built on it and then subsequently bought. The records would show the date of purchase, but the house itself might be much older. Again, when houses were altered the date of the alteration was frequently

fixed on the new or renovated gable, and this circumstance may wholly mislead the inquirer in search of the original date. The Castle at Cape Town, a building the merits of which are at present but scantily appreciated, has passed through a variety of transformations of this kind. It was begun by Van Riebeck, but the Van der Stel touch is unmistakable not only on the fine entrance-gate, but on the massive walls and bastions and the admirable proportions of the living-rooms. Very remarkable, too, are the great vaults built as granaries by Simon Van der Stel, which give one some idea of the wheat-growing operations in the Colony and their scale. Further structural alterations took place at the time of what may be called the South African classical revival, and it was about this period that Lady Anne Barnard lived at the castle and entertained Cape society with fiddles and the French horns. But again very little information is forthcoming as to the actual builders and architects responsible for this fine old pile, sadly defaced as it is now by the uses to which it is put as barracks, and jostled under its very bastion by the railway.

As regards the Archives, after the irritating manner of their kind they supply endless particulars in the case of a number of well-known houses as to the quantities of materials used and detailed records of the cost. But in no case does the name of the builder or architect appear. The human material apparently was taken for granted and passed unrecorded. It may be remembered that at Chartres, though we have every particular of the gifts made by the various guilds to the Cathedral, we know not the name of the architect to whom we owe the most glorious fane in Christendom. There is nothing surprising therefore that names of

the Cape architects do not find their way into specifications of wood of teak, but there is much that is very irritating in a problem so elusive as that which these houses present.

In the old days of the Tavern of the Ocean, when Table Bay was a meeting-place for the argosies of many seas, other influences from other sources may easily have flowed into the country. The Cape, in the eyes of the Dutch East India Company, was but a port of call to the far more important settlements in Batavia. Miss Fairbridge has pointed out how the Archives reveal very pretty quarrels between the Van der Stels and the directors in Holland, owing to the reprehensible (in their eyes) habit of Simon and Adrian in detaching trained workmen bound for the East at Cape Town and utilising them for the prosecution of their own schemes. From Batavia, too, may have come the ground plan of the houses and their stoeps so well adapted to the needs of a hot climate, to which no parallel can be found in Holland. And as we remember the ships which must have passed to and fro rounding the Cape with their rich Eastern cargoes, it is easy to understand how the old settlers came into possession of their treasures in furniture and china, the acquisition of which at this remote end of the African continent at first sight seems puzzling. However much the latter-day Transvaal Boer, cut off from education and refining influences, may have fallen below the standards and culture of his forefathers, the fact that this culture nevertheless lies behind him is of good import to his future development. There is plenty of progress for him to make along lines laid down by a great ruler such as Simon Van der Stel.

Another matter which calls for some comment is the

character of the names given to the houses. Imagination must have been no uncommon quality among the settlers in those early days, and there is a very delicate aroma about many of the names possessed by the old homesteads which often reveal a touch both poetic and fanciful. I have already spoken of 'Buitenverwachting'—Beyond Expectation. No less charming and suggestive are 'Meer Lust'—Joy of the Sea; 'Morgen Ster'—Morning Star; 'Rust en Vrede,'—Rest in Peace; 'Nooitgedacht'—Not Remembered; and such names as 'Bien Donn  ,' 'La Gratitude,' 'Bon Foi,' and many others. But we know no more of their origin than of the origin of the houses themselves.

At last, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the veil lifts and we come on two names which can be definitely connected with certain buildings in Cape Town and elsewhere. Louis Michel Thibault, a French Lieutenant of Engineers, arrived in Cape Town in 1785 and entered the Government service, being employed on fortifications and public works. He died in South Africa between 1810 and 1820, having seen the country pass from Dutch to English hands. Thibault's buildings show the classical influence of which I have spoken, and good illustrations of his work may be seen in the balcony at the Castle and the beautiful Drostdy at Tulbagh for which a sum of £8000 was paid. The flat-roofed houses at Stellenbosch and elsewhere with columns, pilasters, and other classical ornaments are traceable to his influence. At the same time came Anton Anreith, sculptor and worker in plaster, who must have carried out decorative work for Thibault. South Africa owes to him the greatest gem in the land, the exquisite group of Ganymede surrounded by putti, which decorates the pediment on the wine cellar at Groot Constantia.

Here there is no question of a relative judgment. The work is of the highest order, and can fearlessly challenge comparison with any prototype in the old world. But save in the case of Thibault and Anton Anreith, we have as yet no clue to the master-builders of the eighteenth century, the period at which the finest houses were erected.

The present Union archivist, Mr. Botha, is a real enthusiast at his work, and the papers under his care have doubtless much to reveal about many matters of deep interest historically and archæologically. We must also hope that Miss Fairbridge will gather together all her admirable knowledge of the Cape houses and their owners in a form which will rouse South Africans to a fuller appreciation of the historical beauties of their country, and to the real responsibility which rests with the nation to give such beauties a vigilant and faithful guardianship.

CHAPTER X

THE OPENING OF THE UNION PARLIAMENT

'Tis not the grapes of Canaan that repay,
But the high faith that failed not by the way.

So long as men do their duty, even if it be greatly in a misapprehension, they will be leading pattern lives ; and whether or not they come to lie beside a martyr's monument, we may be sure they will find a safe haven somewhere in the providence of God.

R. L. STEVENSON.

THE third session of the first Parliament of the South African Union was opened with all ceremonious observance by the Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, on Friday, January 24, 1913. The political crisis through which the country was passing invested the occasion with an unusual degree of interest. Great had been the hitherings and thitherings during the preceding weeks, since General Botha's break with General Hertzog ; for the almost complete absence of party organisation on the Dutch side had made calculations of relative strength very difficult. The session opened in an atmosphere thick with uncertainty and conflict ; the struggle between the two Dutch leaders, whichever way it turned, being recognised on all sides as momentous to South Africa.

As regards the actual ceremony, it is not a little interesting on such an occasion to note the extent to which the ancient constitutional forms of the Mother

of Parliaments have been transplanted to the Dominions beyond the Seas, and how far they flourish in their new surroundings. We English—in the limited geographical sense of the term—though a democratic people, have no little affection for archaic ceremonials, and parade them with much pleasure on State occasions. It amuses us now and again to rummage in the property-box of tradition and remind ourselves how long and varied have been the events in the course of our island story. We are half ashamed to confess how much we are moved by these evidences of the past, speaking as they do of generations now fallen on sleep but who were torch-bearers in their time—the torch passed on to us. This respect for State ceremonial on great occasions reflects no discredit on those who are moved by it. The condition of the toiling masses would be not one penny-piece the better for its disappearance. In a drab world beset with mechanical appliances, what advantage can there be in the suppression of all that stimulates the national imagination, of all that makes the toiler realise that he too, whatever his limitations, shares and upholds a great national life which has descended through the ages? The more we cherish that tradition, the more we realise its greatness, the more we shall strive that latter-day circumstances do not create conditions of life for the nation incompatible with a future as fine as the past. So the property-box has its uses in our busy modern life, and brings home to the younger nations that these archaic ceremonials speak of a past in which, if they so wish and will, they equally can share. History, and a proud and great history, has flowed through these forms, and an occasional tribute to the latter is but a legitimate species of ancestor-worship.

The average Colonial is fond of saying he makes no count of these things, but the remark does not imply any particular superiority; it only points to a short historical tradition and an undeveloped *genius loci*. He absorbs both willingly enough in the Old Country on the occasions when England deploys her great pageants of national joy or sorrow.

The brilliant sunshine which marked the opening day of the South African session was yet another contrast to the murky skies under which the English Parliament is accustomed to meet. I set off in good time to take my place, for I had not wholly disabused my mind of the idea of a London crowd on a similar occasion and the delays it entails. But beyond a certain stir in the neighbourhood of the oak avenue, and here and there the unfamiliar sight of a uniform, scarce a ripple seemed to disturb the normal tranquillity of Cape Town. The red-brick Parliament House, with stucco columns, at the head of Adderley Street, is an unpretentious building, though recently enlarged to meet the needs of the greater Assembly which now deliberates within its walls. Cape Town is fond of remarking with a sniff that whatever wanton extravagance may be committed in the north in the way of public buildings, the south does not regard bricks and mortar as essential to Parliamentary greatness. The opening ceremony was performed in the old Chamber of the Legislative Council, now the Senate House. The floor of the House was given up practically to the ladies, legislators accommodating themselves gallantly in the background. The precedent of sending for the faithful Commons is not followed here, members of the Assembly and then the Senators arriving in procession and taking their seats before the advent of the Governor-General.

But Black Rod, and the Mace, and the Speaker, gorgeous in black and gold robes, carry back the youngest of parliaments to the oldest of usages on the banks of the Thames.

On the whole, the years have brought fewer changes than might have been expected among the figures whom I remembered as playing their parts in the angry debates immediately preceding the war. South Africa is remarkable for the calibre of the public men she has produced. The youngest of the Dominions, she has statesmen whose intellect and capacity would make them front bench men in any parliament of the Old World. As I looked down from the gallery, the chequered history of latter-day South Africa seemed to be summed up in the personalities gathered together on the floor below. Mr. W. P. Schreiner, Prime Minister when I saw him last in 1899, older and bearded is among the Senators. A somewhat cryptic personality, no man has had to bear more abuse and probably few have deserved it less. A typical intellectual with a somewhat fastidious mind of first-rate quality, Mr. Schreiner is not the type of politician who holds the masses, but a thinker who will always form thought among those around him. The difficulties of his public career have been those of an essentially cross-bench mind coloured by a deeper humanitarianism than ever can be popular with the crowd. Men who struggle for any sort of fair or dispassionate judgment as between conflicting racial claims and policies are at once assailed in South Africa as weak-kneed traitors. So it comes about that the just man must pursue and cherish his ideal of justice undeterred by the clamour which the extremists on one side and the other most certainly will raise about his path. Sir James Rose Innes has

left politics for the judicature and now sits among the judges. A personality of singular charm, politics are the poorer for the loss of one whose influence I remember as the great moderating factor in the stormy days before the war. Mr. Sauer, capable, burly, witty, then, as now, is on the Front Bench.¹ Sir Richard Solomon, another distinguished son who has deserved well of South Africa, has vanished from the parliamentary scene, but is now serving the Union in London. Slight, alert, genial, the Dr. Smartt of the Cape Assembly has now blossomed into Sir Thomas Smartt, leader of the Unionist Opposition. Death of course had taken its toll. As Parliament meets, Sir Gordon Sprigg, veteran ex-Prime Minister and *par excellence* the old parliamentary hand of South Africa, is approaching the bourne of the undiscovered country.

One outstanding personality alone of those days is missing: the lion-headed man, with the high-pitched voice so little in keeping with his frame, who sleeps in the Matoppos. The land he loved and served has in a large measure been moulded to his will, but the Fates cut short his thread before the hour of fulfilment. Rhodes as a politician always seemed to me somewhat out of place. The greatness, the impatience of his mind could hardly make their count with the restraints and formalities of parliamentary practice. It was probably to him an irksome part of his larger purpose, a necessary

¹ Mr. Sauer's regretted death in July 1913, at the moment of the disturbance in Johannesburg, occurred after this chapter was written. The loss of his experience and ripe judgment will be severely felt not only in the Botha Cabinet but throughout the Union. A strong party man, Mr. Sauer had lived through stormy days during his political career, but the universal tributes to his memory and the general regret at his untimely death are yet another proof of the changed feeling which has come over South African public life.

means to the ends he had in view. He dominated the old Cape Assembly by sheer force of genius, but my recollection of him fidgeting on the Front Bench is that of a man not thoroughly at home in his surroundings, and submitting with ill grace to the limitations of his position. In God's out-of-doors, on the veld, on the mountain side, or again in his own beautiful house—of which General and Mrs. Botha are now such faithful guardians, preserving it at every point intact and unchanged—he was in the right environment. One may think of him in many ways, but it never occurs to one to think of him primarily as a successful Prime Minister. Politics were the accident, not the mainspring, of his career. His stage was a wider one even than the floor of a popular Assembly.

Very different is the case with the grey-headed, handsome man, still, as of old, the most conspicuous figure in the Parliamentary throng, another ex-Prime Minister, who stands in the literal sense head and shoulders above his colleagues. Parliamentary life throughout the Empire has produced no personality more remarkable than that of Mr. J. X. Merriman. Distinction of person and distinction of mind in him go hand in hand. For culture, wit, and oratory he has not his equal in the Union Parliament, though his span has already outstripped the three score years and ten allotted by the Psalmist to man's labours. In private life one of the most brilliant and caustic conversationalists of our time; in public matters a first-rate financier, an ingrained individualist, a strenuous opponent of socialism and woman's suffrage, out of sympathy with the Imperial idea—Mr. Merriman's mental equipment

is of a somewhat contradictory character. As a speaker he is not only impressive by reason of his matter which is admirable, but he has in addition the matchless charm of a golden voice so mellifluous that it would compel attention if his speeches were devoted to a repetition of 'Three Blind Mice.' On ceremonial occasions he is at his very best, and his tribute in the Assembly on the death of Sir Gordon Sprigg was a model of generous and restrained appreciation. But though it has been my good fortune to listen to him on various occasions, I remember him primarily not by his keen sword-play and thrust on the floor of the House and the confusion with which he can overwhelm an antagonist, but in a humble little school which he had gone to open in the poorest part of Cape Town belonging to that neglected people the Malays. It was a corner of the Orient gathered in the whitewashed schoolroom, the audience pressing round the tall, white-haired statesman as he spoke to them encouragingly, kindly, of self-improvement and education ; the somewhat haughty bitter touch of his political utterances wholly in abeyance, the real kindness of his heart wholly displayed. Mr. Merriman has always been a champion of native rights, a fact already known to the patient, dark-eyed men and women looking at him with mute appeal as he reminded them of words in their own Koran, 'God loveth the clean,' 'God is with those who persevere.' Other writers may speak of other sides of Mr. Merriman's political life, may tell of circumstances through which he has failed despite such gifts to win and maintain the first place in the conduct of public affairs. He has reached a point in his career where criticism drops out of sight, and his friends need only dwell on the charm of his personality,

and all those qualities of heart and mind that make his friendship indeed a possession.

But all these are figures of the past and familiar in the days of the old Cape Parliament. The Union has widened the scene and brought other actors on the stage. Faces then unknown have stepped into the front rank, men from the North who have many qualities to bring to the fuller national life now established. General Botha, erect and soldierly, walks at the head of the Union Assembly procession with firm tread and untroubled glance. To see him in his place as Prime Minister is perhaps to reflect on the different treatment meted out by Imperial Britain and Imperial Rome respectively to their defeated foes. Beside him is General Smuts, a slight, fair-haired, fair-bearded man, who for sheer brain power has probably no equal in South Africa. A first-rate metaphysician, General Smuts, like Lord Haldane, is a devout worshipper at the shrine of divine philosophy, and is at heart more interested in Kant and Hegel than in the wearisome squabbles of race and language. It is difficult to under-rate the importance of his intellectual capacity to the cause of good government in South Africa. The close ties of friendship which exist between him and General Botha are fortunate for both men. General Botha is the leader *par excellence*, with touch, vision, personality, but his educational advantages have been slender. General Smuts is in no sense a popular leader. His acute metaphysical brain, so curious a product to be thrown up by his race, renders his personality perplexing and incomprehensible to the average Boer. A mind so subtle and so nimble can dance too many dialectical rings round the stalwarts of the Back Veld—hence the element of distrust he inspires among

them. But intellectually General Smuts is the Government. I have heard it said he could without the least trouble assume all the portfolios of all the ministers. Gifted with an immense power of work, he is supposed to forge not a few of the bullets which General Botha fires with considerable effect. I heard him introduce the Financial Relations Bill, an excessively complicated measure, with perfect lucidity and almost without reference to a note. He can speak with equal ease and command in the Dutch and English languages alike, an advantage denied to General Botha, who usually prefers the Dutch medium. In debate his manner is suave and conciliatory. In private life he has not only all the courtesy of his race but a pleasant wit and a ready laugh. The Empire is greatly the richer by his addition to its statesmen. General Botha and General Smuts are obviously greater figures than those of their remaining colleagues, but these include personalities well known in latter-day South African history. Ex-President Reitz, formerly ruler of the Free State, now President of the Senate, arrives late and pushes his way with no little agitation to his seat. Mr. Abraham Fischer, formerly Prime Minister of the Free State, venerable and grey-bearded, sits on the Treasury Bench. I had seen him last in Cape Town during the troubled months preceding the war, when negotiations had brought him on a fruitless mission to the south. General Beyers, tall and dignified in his uniform as head of the Defence Force, stands near the throne, one of the most striking figures of the gathering; a very staunch foe in the past, an admirable and trusted official in the present.

Since the loss of Dr. Jameson, the Unionist Opposition can put forward no men equal in calibre to

the best brains of the Nationalist Party. In Mr. Patrick Duncan they hold a great asset, but he is a younger man whose political opportunity has not yet come, and he supports policies not wholly acceptable to many of his party. Certain of the Rand lords who sit in Parliament are very able men, but the qualifications of great leadership comprise more than ability and, save in the case of Mr. Duncan, those further qualifications and qualities are not conspicuous in the Unionist Party. One figure has no small interest from the point of view of political continuity at home and overseas. Mr. Hugh Wyndham, the Unionist whip, who has become a South African by adoption, carries on and maintains very admirably in the Union Assembly the tradition of a great governing family who have left a broad mark on the Mother of Parliaments. I heard him on one occasion make a short impromptu speech which for verve and real intellectual quality was not unworthy of Lord Rosebery's nephew.

Strange thoughts and memories are stirred as one looks down from the gallery on the mingled crowd below; ministers of the Crown—men who but a few years since were in arms against us—awaiting the King's representative and exchanging amicable greetings with other men to whom they have found themselves in opposition in no academic or parliamentary sense. It is easy to say that a Dutch Government rules South Africa to-day, and that England has surrendered in peace all she won in war—easy, but essentially cheap and untrue. The very genius of our race lies in this frank and generous calling to a common council of the enemies of yesterday. To say that the Boers in turn have surrendered nothing is strangely to ignore the part that sentiment plays in all human concerns. The flag

which waves to-day' over every Government building in Pretoria, the throne and the symbols of royalty beneath which the Parliament meets—all this marks a change the acceptance of which must have meant a hard struggle to the men and women of the Republics. Outside, the clash of arms is heard and the boom of a minute gun. Then the strains of the National Anthem, and Dutch and English rise to their feet as the Governor-General, preceded by his staff and the naval and military authorities, enters the Chamber. The scene is stately and dignified, and Lord Gladstone bears himself well as the central figure of the gathering; no longer in the familiar frock-coat of the lounging Treasury Bench days at Westminster, but in the brilliant uniform of his high office. In a clear, firm voice he reads the gracious message from the Throne. Finance, defence, naval policy, immigration, the generous gift of Mr. Max Michaelis—all are touched upon. But the one subject uppermost in every person's mind naturally finds no place in the speech. The brief ceremony is over, Lord Gladstone retires, a variety of persons have made a variety of bows, and the assembled company break out into a babble of comment and inquiry. It must be owned that a certain atmosphere of unreality overlaid the whole proceedings. General Hertzog's name was on everyone's lips, and all eyes were searching for him. But the General was absent, had tarried in the Free State on a visit to ex-President Steyn, another circumstance which set the quidnuncs agog. Many people pour into the Assembly itself to hear the roll called over and watch members take their seats. Only formal business is being transacted to-day, but it is possible to judge the formation of parties. The Chamber is a pleasant, wood-panelled room with spacious

galleries devoid of the indignities of the grille so far as my sex is concerned. The Speaker's Chair, the Table, the Mace, the ranging of Government and Opposition to right and left follow the precedents with which we are all familiar. The little desks at which the legislators sit are no doubt very convenient, but they lend an oddly pedagogic air to the floor of the House. One has the impression of a group of school boys receiving instruction in the higher forms. In the absence of benches on which to sprawl, members bent on a nap must assume a prayerful attitude with their elbows on the bench in front of them. This is a favourite position with General Hertzog, who is often to be seen bent double with hands tightly clasped over his face, as though shutting out in disgust all view of an objectionable world. A short acquaintance with the Union Assembly reveals the fact that the Parliament at Westminster has no speciality in the matter of political March hares. The genus capers as cheerfully under the shadow of Table Mountain as in the precincts of St. Stephen's. The Labour Party makes up in garrulity for what it lacks in numbers, and the six members who compose it are prepared to talk at all times and on all occasions at inordinate length. The tendency is for speeches in all parts of the House to be much too long, and the complete indifference with which they are received is not a little striking. Sensitiveness to atmosphere is not a condition of South African parliamentary life. The average speaker will pound away quite unperturbed by a cheerful babble of conversation all around, and the colossal inattention of the House to his remarks. Mr. Merriman's air of weary indifference on such occasions and the glances he casts at the speaker would be daunting in a gathering more highly

charged with electricity. When he rouses himself to pay a series of little calls round the House, it indicates that the breaking point of his patience is nearly reached. He moves from bench to bench with an air of great detachment, casting now and again a glance over his shoulder at the orator as much as to say 'Are you still going on?' More cheerful are the occasions on which the Back Velders take part in the proceedings. The Boer is by no means badly equipped in the matter of oratory, and the fluency of the Free State members must impress the onlooker even though the sense of the remarks is not gathered. They indulge apparently in witticisms of no mean order, to judge by the shouts of laughter with which their speeches are received in all parts of the House. Even when due allowance is made for the very small beer which moves any popular assembly to mirth, the Dutch member has obviously more vigour and fluency than is to be found in the case of the average Englishman. I listened on one occasion to a debate on woman's suffrage, more dull and dreary because more desultory and unreal, even than the type of debates on the subject which take place in England. It expired among the squibs and coruscations of an old Free State member who dealt apparently with certain primitive facts in a somewhat primitive way to the huge glee of all members present. The bi-lingual regulations in force waste a considerable amount of time, but I refer elsewhere to the circumstances in South African public life which render them inevitable.

One thing may be said of the Union Parliament without fear of contradiction—no popular Assembly in the world meets in the midst of natural surroundings more beautiful. The apparent futility and waste of

much Parliamentary debate is a matter which causes considerable heartburning to thoughtful men in all countries. At times it is difficult not to ask oneself if the best forces of a nation's life are not flowing in other channels or at least through other forms. And the trouble of it all is that the men whose character makes them most worth while to the nation are those most apt to turn in trouble and disgust from the intrigues and compromises of politics, asking themselves *cui bono*? When such questions obtrude, the great consolations of Nature come with a specially healing touch. And this is particularly the case in Cape Town. However violent or foolish any struggle within the walls of the House, to come out on the steps and see the violet crest of the mountain rising above the oak trees in serene and glorious beauty, is to regain the true proportion of things almost at a stroke. To look up to hope, 'to hope till hope creates out of its own wreck the thing it contemplates'; that is the condition of help promised to those who, despite the discouragements of life, have nevertheless the fortitude still to lift up their eyes unto the hills. May that deeper purpose, that steadfast hope never fail the men who are beating out a nation's destiny under the guardian shadow of the Mountain!

PART II

SOME POLICIES AND PROBLEMS

CHAPTER XI

SOUTH AFRICA AFTER THE WAR

. . . But Life ere long?
 Came on me in the public ways and bent
 Eyes deeper than of old: Death met I too
 And saw the dawn glow through.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

Mein Vermächtniss, wie herrlich weit und breit.

GOETHE.

It is not a little strange to look back from the troubled vantage point of the twentieth century to that idyllic moment midway in the nineteenth when for a short time men abandoned themselves to pleasant dreams of a new era of universal peace. In 1851 the Glass House in Hyde Park gathered under its roof representatives of all nations, who, so the dream ran, henceforth were to meet in the friendly rivalries of commerce and abjure the brutalities of war. This dream unfortunately had passed through the gate of ivory not that of horn: the Glass House itself, true symbol of insecurity, was not more frail than the hopes it had sheltered during the famous world's fair. Mr. Justin McCarthy has pointed out that so far from inaugurating the reign of Peace, the Hyde Park Exhibition but marked the close of such brief period of authority as that luckless divinity has so far known. The hard realities of the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny soon

shattered the illusions of 1851, and so far from war coming to an end, the dark shadow of strife hangs more heavily to-day over the modern world than it hung over the prosperous mid-Victorian period, with its robust common sense and somewhat prosaic virtues. History is never more pregnant than in its study of beginnings, or when tracing the fountain-heads of those divergent streams which at a later date unite to form a torrent. In the great drama of human life the actors are often trained on diverse stages before they come together in the playing out of some world-wide event. The loom of Fate is a vast one, and threads doomed to the joint working out of great designs both good and evil are spun apart and apparently without the smallest relation the one to the other. The men and women of 1851, who gathered in Hyde Park to marvel at the wonders of the Great Exhibition were all unconscious of the forces at work about them, and had little conception of the whole development of national and Imperial life which lay ahead. They belonged to a generation curiously remote from our own in its different appreciation of the problems concerned with the position of Great Britain overseas. That Great Britain had a position overseas at all was a fact which rarely traversed the national consciousness of that period. The men of those days were concerned with other thoughts, work, and ideals, and for them the pressing problems were domestic. The whole relationship of the Colonies and the Mother Country had touched the nadir of indifference in the middle of the last century. Preoccupied as the mid-Victorians were with the idea of internationalism, it would have seemed to them an absurd suggestion that these remote settlements could ever draw near to the Homeland or one another in

a living relationship. Communication in the modern sense was still in its infancy, and the countries of the world remained separated one from another by vast distances of time and ocean. And yet, while thousands and tens of thousands of people poured through the Glass House, and men boasted of the peaceful triumphs in commerce and industry which henceforth it would be England's pride to sustain, Destiny had flung on the loom the first threads of a very different challenge. Some twelve years before, Lord Durham's great Report on the Canadas had already provided an unsuspected Magna Charta on which British-speaking peoples overseas were to build up new and vigorous expressions of national life. In South Africa the first pawns in a great struggle had no less been moved on the board. No seer was at hand to foretell what vast consequences were ultimately to flow from the obscure movements at this period of a small and remote people in the far interior of South Africa. The Sand River Convention of 1852 which established the Transvaal Republic, the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 which established the independence of the sister Republic in the Free State—these trivial agreements passed unknown and unheeded; yet they were doomed to set on foot a chain of events which in the fullness of time were to cause the whole British Empire to stand and deliver. And that the creation of the Dutch Republics in South Africa, this ultimate origin of strife and bloodshed, should belong to the period of the Great Exhibition, gives rise to some strange reflections as to the course of human events, and the slow stages apparently by which the higher moral consciousness of mankind is evolved.

The two Boer Conventions of 1852 and 1854 are capital events in South African history, for from them

dates the creation of these separate nationalities and separate sovereignties, the rival claims of which have been the fountain-head of strife. Into the causes and origin of the Boer War of 1899-1902 I do not propose to enter here at any length. For many years to come the necessity for that great struggle will be asserted by some and denied by others. But it must be a puzzling circumstance for those who challenge the fundamental issues which underlay the conflict, and who see in its origin nothing but the sordid intrigues of financial interests, that the war should have produced such an astonishing development of national life and consciousness as the present Union of South Africa. Grapes do not grow from thorns, or figs from thistles ; and if the South African struggle had sprung from nothing better than a sordid commercialism, the aftermath of the war would have proved more bitter even than the struggle itself. The secondary causes which precipitate a great conflict may be culpable and unworthy, and no one will be at any pains to deny that culpable and unworthy elements went to the making of the Boer War. But to speak of them as a primary cause is to confuse the spark which fires the powder magazine with the powder magazine itself.

Through a lamentable lack of vision in years past Great Britain had gone out of her way to manufacture for herself in South Africa a condition of affairs which was bound sooner or later to challenge the very basis of her own supremacy. In her eagerness to shirk responsibility, she made, in the creation of the Boer Republics, a peculiarly unsatisfactory venture in the class of experiment known as setting up the poacher as policeman. She grossly mishandled the Boer population, and having irritated them into rebellion, acquiesced

readily enough in their coping with savages and wild beasts in the interior—so long as she was relieved from any such disagreeable necessity. South Africa south of the Zambesi is geographically one country. These geographical conditions dictate in turn the only possible basis of sound and peaceable development, namely union in one form or another. Politically it was impossible for the land to be at peace within itself when torn asunder by two opposite national ideals, focussed in hostile and separated governments. A British South Africa, a Dutch South Africa—each was sectional in outlook and mischievous in manifestation. In a South African South Africa alone could a greater unity of ideal be found large enough to give fair and legitimate play to the individuality of both races. That greater unity of ideal had in turn to find its expression in a much ampler framework than could be provided by four disunited governments, half Imperial, half Republican, each full of jealousy and distrust of the other. Through the tangle of latter-day South African history this is the bedrock of the situation and the present Union of South Africa is its triumphant proof. There is much which lies to right and left of this main proposition, and many a baffling backwater and cross current. But fundamentally the strife in South Africa sprang from its disunion, and the removal of that primary source of stumbling is the hope of the future. For the first time in her history South Africa has at last achieved a sound basis of government—equal rights and equal justice for all white men within her coasts. She will have her troubles and difficulties like all other nations, but she has won at least from the sufferings of a great war the essential condition of unity which alone can give her peace.

Frequent reference has been made in the preceding chapters to the changes which have come over South Africa since I knew it in the pre-war days—far off days they seem now and utterly remote, but affording nevertheless a very useful standard by which to judge the new order. So far as the outward appearance of things is concerned the conditions are transformed almost beyond recognition. The change is no less striking as regards the inner spirit of men's lives and purposes. That the country should have arrived at unity in any form seems little short of a miracle to one who like myself remembers the pre-war conditions—the ugly jostling of Imperial and Republican ideals, the discord, the strife, and intrigue which culminated in a struggle so grim and so great. No true sense of national proportion could exist in the past when the right basis of government was, as we have seen, lacking. Secondary interests under such circumstances usurp a position to which they are in no sense entitled, and focus public attention on many haphazard issues. For example, the gold mining interest in 1899 was unduly influential and dominated the situation to an unhealthy degree. The history of the Rand reads partly like a fairy tale, but a fairy tale constantly merging into a nightmare in the absence of a strong government capable of keeping a firm hand over the situation. That firm hand, of course, President Kruger's régime was wholly unable to supply. It was tyrannical, corrupt, and inefficient, and the hard-headed financiers with whom it came into contact met it on its own terms.

Under British rule the situation has changed completely. Since the war the influence of the mining interest has shrunk to a fraction of its old strength. Economically of course it remains the greatest of South African

interests, with influence proportionate to such a position and to the intelligence of the many able men connected with it. But that influence is exercised on a very different plane from of old—one altogether more simple and more wholesome. There is no longer any question of dominating the situation on the old terms. In 1899 I remember very well that the one eternal subject of conversation was the deeds and misdeeds of the Rand magnates—what they did and what they did not; a capitalist in popular imagination lurked behind every bush. In 1912 I was in the country for some weeks before hearing any save the most casual reference to Johannesburg. People were no longer thinking in terms of gold production; agriculture and native affairs were the topics of general discussion. And this is no accidental circumstance due to a mere shifting in the current of popular opinion, or even to another desirable circumstance, that the age of adventure is generally speaking at an end so far as the gold industry is concerned, and that the latter is now engaged in ordinary commonplace production. It springs right from the heart of the essential change which has come about, namely a redressing of the whole sense of national proportion. That change has been bought at a heavy price of blood and treasure. So confused and so tangled were the primary and secondary causes that it is easy to understand why many people failed to grasp the principle which at bottom was at stake. But fundamentally in South Africa England had to fight or to go and her Empire with her. That was the issue, though we may not only recognise but admire the valour of a small people who flung such a challenge at the feet of a mighty nation.

There will always be something in the struggle of

the Boer Republics against the British Empire which will move generations unborn to wonder and admiration. They were as fully justified in their attempt to establish Republican ideals in South Africa as we in maintaining our Imperial standard. Unfortunately there was not room for both in the country. We, the conquerors, have made good our claim that the ideal for which we stood was compatible with all that was essential in Boer nationality ; that incorporation within the Empire would mean, not the crushing out of that individuality, but its free expression within a wider whole. A Dutch Government rules in South Africa to-day within thirteen years of the extinction of the Boer Republics. Without indulging in grandiloquent language about the unparalleled magnanimity of England, this circumstance is a very remarkable one. To-day England has done more than vindicate her position in South Africa. Lessons of mutual respect and mutual esteem, sentiments utterly lacking in the past, have been driven home for both races on many a bloody field. And heavy though the price, it has not been paid in vain. Whatever the difficulties of the present (and I am at no pains to deny the existence of many grave difficulties), the conviction of solid and enduring gain all along the line was one which deepened with every month of my visit. Prophecy, dangerous at the best, is particularly hazardous when applied to South Africa, a country fond of turning down prophets with a malicious laugh. All the omens, however, encourage the belief that the worst of the storm has been weathered, and that the foundations of the new order rest on a solid basis. Purged and purified by sorrow and by tears the new South Africa has come into being. So far as bedrock is concerned she has found her feet and will

stand upon them firmly in future. If at times her steps halt and falter, faith and patience—above all patience—not despondency and criticism are needed to strengthen her in the path she must tread.

It is far from easy to summarise in a few pages the actual position of public affairs in South Africa to-day. A great war, both devastating and life-giving in its consequences, has swept over the land, revolutionising all the values of the past and creating new forces still incalculable as regards the future. This, too, in a country which of all others lends herself reluctantly to generalisations, hasty or the reverse, about her affairs. What we see at the present moment in South Africa are questions not settled but in a state of solution. Hence there is often considerable discrepancy between the direction in which public affairs are moving and the actual incidents which diversify their course. It is possible to maintain, for instance, that racialism is bound to be a dwindling force in South Africa, and yet describe incidents which show that racialism is still alive and mischievous. This apparent contradiction will appear not infrequently in the following pages, for South Africa is full of contradictions and speaks with many voices, not with one. In the main, however, it may be said that though unity of national life and purpose is not yet achieved, the foundations of such a life have been broad based, and there is no reason to doubt their capacity ultimately to bear a worthy superstructure. The Union of South Africa, as Lord Grey justly remarked, has been accepted by all right-minded people of both races, and among such people there is only one wish—to put away the memory of old, unhappy, far-off things and work honestly together for the future. Unfortunately, as in every other

state and community, there are large numbers of people who are not right-minded; and so it comes about that—though for those who disregard the shrill voices which at present darken counsel by words without knowledge a deep under-note of security rings reassuringly—the immediate aspect of South African affairs is difficult, confused, troubled, unsatisfactory. To appreciate the present political position it is necessary to glance briefly at the circumstances which have unfolded themselves since the Peace. The whole subject is controversial in the highest degree, and as no good service can be rendered by stirring unnecessarily among ashes the fires of which are still smouldering, I shall endeavour to confine myself as much as may be to a statement of fact.

The Peace of Vereeniging was signed on May 31, 1902. Events in South Africa have moved rapidly since that date. The Government grappled, and grappled amazingly well under the circumstances, with the herculean task of repatriation and re-establishment of normal civil life. By the beginning of April 1903 200,000 members of the old burgher population had been restored to their homes. In March 1905 Lord Milner left the country. Within a space of three years he had entirely reconstructed the whole framework of government and had created an efficient administration out of chaos. The magnitude of this achievement—one of the greatest administrative feats in history—is up to the present but little recognised. The new Transvaal Government was not born into a peaceful and well-disposed environment. It was cradled in tumult and reared in ill will. The bitterness left by the war was extreme. The Dutch naturally enough* would not touch the new administration;

the English no less naturally were uneasy and suspicious as to Boer ambitions and designs. The political situation in England was another circumstance which gave rise to much heartburning among the British population. The war had not commanded the sympathies and support of an undivided England. By large numbers among the Liberal Party it was regarded as a monstrous and unjust act of aggression. Lord Milner himself was to such people the arch-villain of the play, and to credit him with good work of any kind was a task beyond their powers. At home the Balfour Government was obviously tottering to its fall. The attitude of the Liberal Party to the war and towards the question of Chinese labour filled half of South Africa with apprehension, and the other half with expectancy, as to what fruits might be expected from a Liberal victory at the polls in England. Meanwhile discontent and dissatisfaction were rampant in South Africa itself, and a period of acute financial depression came as a climax of misfortune. The new administrations in the Transvaal and the Free State had to fight their way against odds of a very heavy kind. It was inevitable that many mistakes should be made; nevertheless the foundations of the new order were well and surely laid, even though the masons worked as if in a besieged and beleaguered city. Those of us in this country who grumble so heartily at the smallest failure in any public service which ministers to our comfort and convenience, can have little conception of what was involved by the restoration of the framework of civil life in a country devastated and laid bare by a great war.

Within South Africa itself there had been from the first moment of the Peace an agitation among

certain sections for the prompt establishment of responsible Government. It is important to remember that this demand received support from large numbers of Englishmen as well as the Dutch. The Crown Colony Government was unpopular in many ways. Its mistakes were obvious, and any view of the structure it was rearing was impeded by scaffoldings of prejudice and discontent. The indentured Chinese labourers raised an outcry in South Africa as in England itself; administration was costly, and money was scarce. Lord Selborne succeeded Lord Milner as High Commissioner in 1905 and his advent coincided with an effort on the part of Mr. Balfour's ministry to establish a system of representative government in the two new Colonies, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton being at that time Colonial Secretary.¹ This plan was welcomed by the majority of British South Africans and was regarded with no less disapproval by the Dutch. The Lyttelton Constitution, however, never came into operation. In December 1905, Mr. Balfour resigned and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became Prime Minister. The general election in the following month gave the Liberal party an overwhelming majority. It was decided by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government to establish not representative but full responsible government in the Transvaal and Free State, a plan

¹ Mr. Lyttelton's unexpected and lamented death in July 1913 took place after the above passage was written. The dry bones of South African history will record his name as the author of an untried constitutional experiment. Very different will be his memorial written in letters of gold on the hearts of all who knew and loved him. England mourns a statesman in whose career the best traditions of her public life shone forth undimmed. But Alfred Lyttelton's gift to his generation is a greater one than any record, however distinguished, of political service—that of a manhood the memory of which remains as an inspiration and possession to all whose high privilege it was to call him friend.

which created just the contrary situation from that of the proposed Lyttelton Constitution, inasmuch as it was hailed by the Boers and generally speaking denounced by the British. The elections were held in February 1907 and resulted in Nationalist majorities in both the new Colonies, General Botha and Mr. Abraham Fischer becoming respectively Prime Ministers of the Transvaal and the Free State. Great anxiety was felt in English circles as to the results of this experiment, but no very terrible consequences manifested themselves. It is an astonishing circumstance, and one the true inwardness of which is too little appreciated, that the Boers, on taking over the new instrument of government created by Lord Milner, maintained that instrument intact and practically made no changes as regards the great reforms he had initiated. When one remembers the corruption and inefficiency of the old Republican Government and the hopeless condition of the public services in the Transvaal, the most harsh critic of the war must needs recognise that a very astonishing change had come to pass. The instrument Lord Milner had created differed profoundly in character and spirit from the happy-go-lucky administration of the old days. It presented itself to the Boers as the work of a ruler they detested, and exacted from them new standards of efficiency and rectitude. Nevertheless it imposed itself by sheer force of rightness on men bred in the spirit of Krugerism, a circumstance wholly honourable to them, but no less honourable to the great statesman whose true services to their race they cannot—not unnaturally—recognise.

The course of South African affairs, however, is apt to run in crooked channels, and it was most

unfortunate that a policy wise and right in itself was introduced under circumstances which tended to throw the British section into an attitude of antagonism against the whole principle of self-government. The rankling memories left by those circumstances colour public opinion in South Africa to this day, and do not help to improve the temper of the English inhabitants towards the difficulties of the present moment. However grave the misconception from which such an attitude springs, the suspicion and distrust with which one political party in South Africa regards another political party in England certainly do not make for harmony in Imperial relations, especially when this animosity is directed against the Government of the day. That such a situation could arise at all throws a curious light on some difficult aspects of the Imperial tie, and the moral to be drawn from it may prove to be of much consequence in other parts of the world as well as South Africa.

Any thoughtful observer must recognise that as the different nations of the Empire draw nearer one to another—in itself a desirable end—certain difficulties are bound to arise as a result of that closer relationship. Prominent among them is the tendency for alliances, or at least understandings, to be set up between political parties in the Mother Country and in the Dominions. Since the lines of Liberalism and Conservatism by no means coincide at home and abroad, this circumstance in itself is bound to give rise to certain anomalies in the relationship so created. But still further, any such relationship, though helpful and convenient to one side, is bound to excite strong feeling among the section who consider they have been worsted in the fray thanks to the benevolent or malevolent interference in their local concerns of

Liberals or Conservatives from home. This was certainly the feeling among Canadian Liberals after Sir Wilfrid Laurier's defeat in 1911 on the Reciprocity issue. It was held by them that British Conservatives had contributed not a little to Mr. Borden's success and had flung their weight into the scales against the Liberal Party. Similarly large numbers of Englishmen in South Africa are no less convinced that the British Liberal Party went out of their way in this matter of self-government to promote the policy of the Boers, and to trample on that of their own countrymen. And since they were in a position to render active, not academic, sympathy to their friends, the process of trampling was the more complete. The Liberal Party at home is the real bogey man among all South African Unionists, and the latter are ready at any moment to call down fire from heaven upon it. To see ourselves as others see us is a wholesome process, but an English Liberal must be prepared for some chastening experiences on landing at the Cape. The average South African Unionist holds firmly that the English Liberal Party sold them deliberately and of malice prepense into the hands of the Boers, and that the pacification of South Africa sprang from nothing better than the gratification of personal spite and ill will among people who had disapproved of the war. However unreasonable such a point of view may seem, it is widespread, and must be reckoned with, just as much as Liberal feeling in Canada about the enormities of the 'British Jingo' who support Mr. Borden must be taken into account. The division of public opinion in England over the South African trouble was a very unfortunate circumstance, neither side being in any temper to give the other credit for

honesty and high-mindedness in the views held. Ugly taunts were flung about freely, and feeling, as we all remember, ran very high. To the average Conservative the moral doubts and scruples of the pro-Boers over the war were incomprehensible. They wholly failed to recognise that much pro-Boerism sprang from a sensitiveness for the national honour no less great than that felt by the Conservatives. They could not bring themselves to believe that the unpatriotic Radicals and Little Englanders they denounced had also their views of the duties and responsibilities of a great nation. They regarded as wilful and malignant what was in the main but a passionate and honest repudiation of a course of conduct which large numbers of people rightly or wrongly considered unworthy. All this perhaps was natural enough, but it did not conduce to calm and dispassionate handling of South African affairs on the part of any statesman concerned.

Now as regards the policy carried out by the Liberal Party in South Africa, that policy was fundamentally sound, wise, and right, and was the only policy which could give peace to the land. Further it is a policy which has been justified in its results, for without it Union could never have come into being. All this in retrospect is easy to see, for it has been proved by the event. But there is nothing surprising in the fact that the grant of complete responsible government within five years of the conclusion of the war caused much searching of heart among all friends of South Africa. The wisdom of the course taken was certainly open to question, and if the good star which waits on the Empire had not raised up men like General Botha and General Smuts as political leaders the results might have been different. Many people, however, who, like

myself, were very doubtful as to the wisdom of the course then followed, now recognise in retrospect that our fears were mistaken and groundless. A right principle is a better foundation for government than restrictions and devices however ingenious. The Lyttelton Constitution was open to the charge that, with its elected Assembly and nominated Council, it instituted a form of government which has always produced friction and difficulty wherever attempted. The choice for South Africa really lay between continuation of Crown Colony government and the establishment of full responsible government. The Crown Colony government, as we have seen, did wonderful work. Good autocratic administration makes for efficiency and the getting of things done. But so far as an English Colony is concerned, it runs up against the most sacred of principles, the right of the average man to manage or mismanage his own affairs. However badly an Englishman may exercise that right, he is never happy when it is beyond his reach. So in the long run the Crown Colony government fretted the British as well as the Boers, and discontent became widespread. From the point of view of efficiency it might certainly be argued that ten more years of first-rate personal government would have had excellent administrative and economic results. No such policy was, however, remotely possible. Attractive though it might be theoretically, in practice it meant the government by force of a conquered province, and that is a task for which we British have neither wit nor will. No people can go back at a critical moment on the spirit which has made them great. Freedom is of the very essence of British institutions, and we can express ourselves in no other way. Our system may be open

to a hundred criticisms and have a hundred obvious disadvantages, but such as it is it has made the British Empire, and by it we must abide. We cannot aspire to the administrative efficiency of an Alsace-Lorraine ; the King's peace is not kept among us on those terms. Therefore the choice in the Transvaal at the moment of the change was admittedly between the perpetuation for a very few years of a system of limited responsibility which irritated the majority of people, or the bold experiment of flinging the responsibility for the land into the hands of the people of the land, even though such an experiment involved (as it was known it must probably involve) the establishment of the vanquished in the seat of government. It must always be to the honour and credit of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government that they took the bold course which was also the wise and the right course. The claim that Liberal principles pacified South Africa is a just one, and the verdict of history will endorse it.

But where the Home Government failed—and it must be confessed that they failed very badly—was in their actual handling of the British population at the moment of the change. More tact and more consideration shown for British susceptibilities would have obviated a whole gamut of resentment and ill will, and simplified many difficulties which have proved stumbling-blocks in the course of the national life. Feeling in South Africa was very hostile on the English side to the Liberal party. This is no new antagonism ; it dates back to the old miserable business of Majuba. As already remarked, the Liberals were suspect owing to their pro-Boer sympathies during the war. The grotesque agitation which had been carried on in England over the Chinese 'slaves' had

filled many South Africans with indignation. The introduction of Chinese labour was open, as we have already seen, to very serious objections of a racial and economic character, though as a temporary measure it fulfilled its end in turning the corner of acute financial depression. But though I have met many men in South Africa who denounced the importation of Chinese, one and all they scoffed at any suggestion of 'slavery' in the matter. The great objection to the Chinese lay in their efficiency, and the degree to which undoubtedly they would have become not only unskilled but skilled competitors with white as well as black labour. The fierce opposition of the white artisans on the Rand did not spring from abstract moral objections to indentured labour. They hated and feared the experiment, because convinced that the mining industry intended it as no temporary measure to make good a deficiency in unskilled labour, but as the first step in the introduction of skilled coloured labour which would eventually dislodge their own. The racial and economic problems of South Africa are extremely complicated, and there is a great deal to be said for not introducing any further elements of perplexity and difficulty into them. There was nothing to be said for the misuse of language for party ends which took place in England on the whole subject.

The personality of Lord Milner was another point which brought Liberalism at home into acute conflict with the South African Loyalists. His policy and methods had been hotly attacked by Liberal politicians who regarded him as primarily responsible for the war. It was one of the misfortunes of the South African struggle that we were as a nation unable to show a united front at so serious a moment, and in those

circumstances Lord Milner, as the most prominent actor concerned, was bound to be a very debateable figure. Strong men, with strong policies invariably rouse opposition, and it must be remembered that such opposition, monstrous though it appeared to the Conservatives, was legitimate enough on the part of those who disapproved of the war. Lord Milner had left South Africa before Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government came into office in December 1905. This was a fortunate circumstance for both sides, and obviated the very difficult position which necessarily must have arisen had the advent of a Liberal Government found Lord Milner still as High Commissioner in South Africa. There was therefore the less excuse for the Government that, resolved as they were on the reversal of Lord Milner's policy in certain important respects, they should have lent any sort of countenance to the disgraceful attack made on him in the House of Commons in March 1906, on what every one knew to be a trivial and petty side-issue. A vote of censure was brought forward against Lord Milner on that occasion for having authorised the flogging of Chinese. It was perfectly well known that the authorisation had arisen through a misunderstanding, and that Lord Milner in accepting responsibility for the mistake had generously shielded a subordinate. The Government instead of repudiating the motion, changed its terms: an alteration in phraseology which only left them in the position of being willing to wound but yet afraid to strike. This discreditable exhibition of ill will against a man who had held high office under the Crown, and had given years of devoted service to the upholding of British interests, created a lamentable impression in England

and moved South Africa to the deepest indignation. There can be no question whatever that the vote of censure should have been firmly suppressed by the Cabinet, however profound their disagreement with Lord Milner's views. Common loyalty demands that great servants of the Crown should not be subjected to attacks which originate from any one section of the rank and file. If censure at any time is desired or desirable, it should emanate with all responsibility from Ministers themselves. I write as a Liberal, and as a Liberal I know how perfectly honest and sincere was the opposition felt in the party to Lord Milner's policy. But in South Africa few actions have done more to prejudice and discredit the Liberal position than the action at once ridiculous and vindictive which a small section was allowed on this occasion to impose on the House of Commons.

The effect of all this on the attitude of the British in South Africa to the changes initiated by the Imperial Government after the return of the Liberals to power can easily be imagined. They absolutely refused to give the Government credit for any good will or good intentions in the matter. The whole question of responsible government was rendered more difficult than it need have been, thanks to the depression, not to say despair, with which the policy was regarded. All this was extremely unfortunate and it has left a bitter taste in South Africa to this day. It is easy to recognise now that these fears were groundless and to say that much of the opposition to responsible government was violent and obscurantist. In an imperfect world facts and characters have to be taken as they are. The fears of the South African Loyalist as to being bullied and trampled under foot,

like those of the Ulster Loyalist, may seem a trifle far-fetched, since neither the one nor the other can claim to have figured as quietists in history. The dread, however, was a very real one in South Africa, and it might have been dispelled without much difficulty. The policy was the right one and had the root of the matter in it, and so it pulled the situation through. But had more pains been taken to conciliate British as well as Boer prejudices, the same end might have been achieved with a modicum of the friction actually incurred.

It must be confessed that the point of view of the average South African Loyalist is very widely removed from that of the average Liberal, and we may recognise that it was a hardship for both to be thrown by circumstances into any sort of collision. But it is after all the business of the Imperial Government to hold the scales fairly as between all political sections in the Dominions, quite apart from those natural and personal sympathies which must inevitably spring up between men holding more or less the same ideas wherever they live. It is essential overseas that confidence should be felt in the impartiality, justice and good will of ministers in the Homeland. It is the absence of this confidence which leaves a somewhat unhappy impression upon one when talking to many Englishmen in South Africa to-day. But if the English are sore and irritated—not without some justification—many of them show excessive prejudice about the present position. Despite the angry passions roused, the achievement of the Liberal Party in South Africa has been a very considerable one, unpalatable though that view may be to the average South African of English birth. The latter regards the gift of self-government at the best

as a monstrous gamble in which the off-chance of success happened to turn up. The inherent soundness of the principle and the good results which have flowed from it have not yet won their way into the popular consciousness. Both sides have still a good deal to learn from one another as regards any sort of generous appreciation of the services each has rendered. For the moment both prefer to dwell on the failures, mistakes, and prejudices of the other. The Liberal who applauds the Union in one breath and denounces the war with the next, forgets that without the war Union itself would have been impossible. The achievements of the Union Parliament cannot be detached logically from the personality of the man whose administration revolutionised all existing standards of government in South Africa. The public services of to-day, the whole framework of administration, are in a very special sense Lord Milner's creation. The men he brought into the country, the high standard of public life exacted, have left a broad mark on South African history. In the departments of agriculture and education alone he called forth new forces of incalculable importance. The principles he laid down, the efforts he inaugurated, have passed into the hands of other men and are now reaping their peaceful fulfilment. His task was of a kind which could win him no popularity among the Dutch, and his personal relations with them were not happy. But, as frequently arises, the more transient and debatable sides of his policy linger in popular imagination, where great and solid achievement passes unrecognised—because it has passed into the order of accepted facts. His speeches show that he misjudged (such is the irony of human events) the strength and

solidity of his own work ; he regarded as submerged foundations which remained intact. With the din of battle in his ears, he fell into the error of regarding the early grant of self-government as premature and undesirable. He is open to the criticism of having forced, consciously or unconsciously, the purely English note in public matters. To say that he made no mistakes would be to claim an inhuman standard of perfection for a man whose human qualities are the most obvious of any to his friends. But the new South Africa is in the main his monument, and opponents who repudiate his views continue to build on the foundations he laid and follow policies of which he, and he alone, is the author.

If, however, misconceptions of this kind are rife among persons who disapprove of the war, what the Loyalist forgets no less completely is that without the greatest of antiseptics—self-government—there could have been no healing of the gaping wounds left by the struggle. The South African Nationalists saw much further in this matter than the essentially British party, who are always too much inclined to look without before they have looked within. The men who had sufficient faith and courage to launch out on the bold course of self-government have deserved no less well of the land than those who repaired the ravages of the war itself. Time eventually will mollify these somewhat rankling memories, and, as years go on, a better sense of proportion about all these matters is bound to arise in South Africa. But the circumstances I have described have their bearing on South African affairs to-day, and must be borne in mind if we are to understand in what particular atmosphere present events are unfolding themselves.

In these not very auspicious circumstances therefore the Transvaal and the Free State received the gift of self-government. Meanwhile other and potent causes were silently at work to bring about one of the most remarkable achievements of our times—the unification of South Africa under a centralised government. That such a scheme should have entered the region of practical politics within five years of the war would have seemed an unthinkable proposition at the conclusion of peace. A strange and happy combination of circumstances, personalities, and direction of ideas was largely instrumental in bringing about this result. The threatened breakdown of finance in South Africa—due to the impossibility of adjusting railway rates, customs, &c., between four separated and quarrelsome States—forced all practical men to search for some better arrangement than any which could be supplied by the then existing system. Direction of ideas was forthcoming from the brilliant group of civil servants introduced by Lord Milner into the Transvaal service, men of character and ideas who have left a very remarkable tradition in South Africa not only for intellectual capacity but for the higher gifts of character and rectitude. Scoffed at primarily as ‘academics,’ the academics, who understood the value of clear thought, saw the position into which the practical needs of South Africa must inevitably drive her, and sat down during many weeks and months to work out in detail a scheme which would meet the situation. The Selborne Memorandum of January 1907 was the outcome of their labours. To Mr. Lionel Curtis in particular the credit for this propaganda must primarily be due; but in Mr. Lionel Hitchens, Mr. Philip Kerr, Mr. Patrick Duncan, Mr. Brand, and Mr.

Feetham he had colleagues who laboured in the same cause as strenuously as himself.

But the spade-work of the Kindergarten as they were called—a term no longer of reproach in the Transvaal—would have been powerless but for the vision and true patriotism of certain South African statesmen who flung themselves into the movement for closer union. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the whole-hearted co-operation in this respect of General Botha and General Smuts. Had General Botha held aloof, Union would have been impossible. To him primarily the existence of the new order is due, and he is rightly and appropriately the first Prime Minister of a united South Africa. The brilliant intellectual qualities of General Smuts were no less vital to the success of the scheme. It was General Smuts who steered the Convention through its difficulties, and avoided the many rocks which strewed its course. Without the co-operation of the two Boer leaders the plan of Union could never have been made intelligible to the Dutch, could never have won even a partial measure of acceptance from them. On the English side the character and influence of Sir Starr Jameson were no less vital in promoting the success of the closer union movement. His personal relations with General Botha are one of the pleasant pages of latter-day South African history, and a striking instance of leaders who have known how to subordinate the smaller considerations of race to the quest of a high national aim.

Matters were brought to a head at a meeting of the Customs Union Convention in May 1908, when the representatives of the four Colonies found themselves threatened with a complete breakdown of the existing

financial arrangements in South Africa. This in turn led to the decision to call a National Convention which should consider ways and means to establish a central government. The National Convention met first at Durban in October 1908, and a month later at Cape Town. A draft Constitution was published early in 1909, which was submitted to the consideration of the four Colonies for amendment and discussion in their respective parliaments. It had become obvious to the delegates during the National Convention that a unified, not a federal, form of government was best suited to the needs of South Africa. Under the South Africa Act supreme power is vested in the Union Parliament, all the primary functions of government being fulfilled by the central authority and the Provincial Councils being restricted to the direction of local affairs. Whatever the merits of a federal system in a country where diversity of geographical conditions produces diverse forms of national life, any such creation of separate State rights in South Africa would only have resulted in a perpetuation of evils which the Union itself came into existence to abolish. At the same time, though legislative authority is rightly vested in one body alone, over-centralisation in a vast country such as South Africa must no less be avoided. Government to be carried out efficiently demands elasticity in its working arrangements, and administrative decentralisation on to local bodies is a very necessary condition of the great sparsely populated areas of the Union.

It is commonly said in South Africa to-day that alterations may not improbably take place in the future as regards the status and functions of the Provincial Councils. They are criticised by many people

as being too large and as setting up a superfluous form of minor concurrent government alongside the Union Parliament. The suggestion is in the air that they should be broken up into a larger number of District Councils better adapted to the varying local needs of one and the same Province. This is, however, a point which can only be determined after some years of practical experience. The Constitution of the Provincial Councils was designed to give scope to individual local feeling in the Provinces. Such feeling is in the main of more harm than good in South Africa, for it tends to preserve the spirit of sectionalism. It is encouraging therefore to find that a proportion of the population increasingly recognise the practical advantages of the unitary system and are moving still further in that direction. At the same time no changes in the constitution of the Provincial Councils will be possible without a very radical alteration of the South Africa Act itself, for the Provincial Councils have at present important functions both as regards finance and election to the Senate. Such changes therefore as practical experience may in time prove to be desirable will entail considerable modifications of the present Act of Union. Any such upheaval would be quite undesirable at present, but obviously years must pass before every provision of the Constitution settles down into one harmonious whole.

The second great principle established by the Convention was that of equal rights. The electoral system of the Lyttelton Constitution for the Transvaal, which with some modifications had been embodied in the Elgin Constitution, provided for constituencies of equal size based not on population but on the actual number of electors. An automatic redistribution of

seats on the same basis was provided for at stated intervals. It is a remarkable circumstance that both the unitary system of government and the principle of equal rights (with the basis of electors not population for the constituencies) should have been pressed upon the Convention unswervingly by the Transvaal delegates. The unanimity of the latter—Dutch and English alike—was a very strong fact and one of the first importance in bringing the labours of the Convention to a successful issue. In the words of Mr. Brand—whose admirable little book ‘The Union of South Africa’ gives a detailed account of the history and constitution of the Union—the Transvaal delegates maintained a solid front throughout the proceedings, and alone of the Colonial representatives fortified their opinion by bringing with them a staff of lawyers and expert advisers.

It was further proposed that the system of proportional representation should be introduced for election to the House of Assembly and the Provincial Councils. On this point and on that of equal rights the Convention was nearly wrecked when it reassembled at Cape Town in May 1909, the Cape Parliament having put forward amendments which stultified the whole electoral principles previously agreed upon. In the end a compromise was arrived at, thanks to the firmness shown by General Botha and the other Transvaal representatives. Proportional representation was given up as a concession to the prejudices of the farming population, but the ‘equal rights’ clauses were maintained with single-member constituencies distributed on the basis of electors not population. An arbitrary number of members was adopted for the representation of each Province, the numbers being arranged

on such a plan as to allow more members for Natal and the Free State than those to which they would have been strictly entitled. Within the Provinces the principles of one man one vote and one vote one value are, generally speaking, maintained, but a certain elasticity was allowed in this respect. The Commissioners appointed to delimit the constituencies were authorised to take into consideration such local questions as the character of the community, its physical features, sparsity or density of population, and, if judged proper, to depart from the exact basis of division to not more than 15 per cent. above or below the prescribed quota. Two other grave obstacles were shelved rather than settled: the question of the native vote, and the question of the capital. The former difficulty was got round by leaving the franchise qualifications existing in each Colony at the time of Union undisturbed—a proceeding which without extending the native franchise did not disfranchise the existing black and coloured voters in the Cape. Over the question of the capital a severe struggle raged as between the rival claims of Pretoria and Cape Town. From the point of view of historical association and natural beauty Cape Town was easily first, but its geographical position is not well suited to the needs of a unified South Africa. In the final issue Pretoria became the Seat of Government and Cape Town the Seat of Legislature, a curious and not very satisfactory arrangement as regards administrative efficiency, but, in view of the fierce local jealousies to be placated, probably the best compromise available.

The National Convention came to an end in May 1909 and the draft Act of Union as amended received the assent of the various Colonies concerned. In September

it had passed the British Parliament and received the Royal Assent, the Act coming into operation in May 1910.

The Constitution, which had been worked out as we have seen in such thorough detail, provided for a Legislative Assembly of 121 members elected as already described, with provision for an expansion of numbers up to 150, and for a Senate of sixty-four members, sixteen from each Province—part elected, part nominated. Direct popular election for the Senate does not exist; the members of the Provincial Council, together with the members of the House of Assembly elected for such Province, constituting the electing body. The system of proportional representation, abandoned, as we have seen, for the Assembly, was maintained for the Senate, the electoral complications of which are yet another proof of the difficulty in establishing an ideal second chamber. The power of originating Money Bills is vested in the Assembly alone, and though the Senate may reject, it may not amend, any Bills which impose taxation or appropriate revenue. Disagreement between the two Houses is provided for by a joint sitting. The Executive follows the exact lines of the Cabinet system with which we are familiar in England—the Governor-General, as representing the King, being advised by Ministers chosen from the party which commands a majority in the House of Assembly.

The establishment of the Judicature and the Supreme Court of South Africa is provided for under the Act, Bloemfontein; by way of compensation for its failure to secure the legislative spoils, becoming the seat of the Supreme Court. Another long section of the Act deals with the question of Finance and Railways,

a Consolidated Revenue Fund being formed as well as a Railway and Harbour Fund. The control of Native Affairs and Asiatics throughout the Union is vested in the Governor-in-Council instead of in the Provincial Councils, the one amendment made by the Imperial Parliament. Last, but not least, the Act among many other matters lays down the principle of complete equality between the Dutch and English languages, each enjoying equal freedom, rights, and privileges.

Such in briefest outline are the main features of the South African Act. It is a remarkable document, but Mr. Brand rightly quotes some words of General Smuts to the effect that even more remarkable were the signatures appended to it. Twelve years ago who would have believed in the existence of an Act of Union to which General Botha and Dr. Jameson, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and Mr. Abraham Fischer, Sir George Farrar and Mr. J. X. Merriman, and many other pairs equally incongruous, were able to subscribe their names? That circumstance should give us pause, for it points to much more than to the existence of individual good will and forbearance on the part of the men concerned. It points to an overwhelming pressure of facts which neither individually nor collectively were they able to resist. It is well to bear this circumstance in mind to-day when South African life once again is more troubled, and some short-sighted people are inclined to speak gloomily of the future. The same facts are in existence and are exercising their pressure as before. From them there is really no escape, and they control the situation as fundamentally now as then.

The first elections under the Act of Union were

held in September 1910, and resulted in a majority for the Nationalist party, General Botha becoming Prime Minister. The Union Parliament was opened with much pomp and ceremony by the Duke of Connaught on December 14 amid great expression of national good will. All sides and sections of the population had made sacrifices in the effort to achieve Union; the creation of a fuller corporate life for the whole country had necessarily involved the loss of much local prestige and authority in the respective Colonies. Men of public spirit rejoiced that the forces of provincialism—at all times a danger and a stumbling-block in South Africa—were now to find their corrective in the larger interests of a unified land. In those larger interests others again saw that in common work for a common fatherland lay the true principle of reconciliation between the Dutch and English races. Practical politicians harassed by the financial difficulties which had beset the scattered Colonies hailed a change promising a more stable and satisfactory basis of government in the future. Business men were no less satisfied at the prospect of a reduction in railway rates and a simplification of Customs dues and other matters intimately affecting the commercial development of the country. Last but not least the driving force of a great idea had for the moment silenced all opposition and swept the whole national consciousness on to a higher and broader plane. A great pageant held at Cape Town at the moment of the opening of the Union Parliament had brought home to both races a keen realisation of a common historical tradition of no mean order, together with a more generous appreciation of the deeds of valour on one side and the other which had gone to the building up of

that tradition. The whole national consciousness was stimulated and uplifted, and the hope was widespread that the bitter memories of the past, though not obliterated, would be merged henceforth in a more generous spirit of peace and reconciliation.

Such was the position in December 1910. It must be admitted that in many respects the position in 1913 seems a great falling away from the high spirit which the Convention had created and sustained. To-day one is conscious of reaction, backwash, and depression, of grumbling and discontent where optimism and good will reigned before. In all this there is, or there should be, nothing surprising. The Union of South Africa and the circumstances which brought it about on the morrow of a great war remain, as I have said, one of the most astonishing facts in history. But driving as it did a great highway through the course of the nation's life, a path along which men's feet could travel securely, it left, as it was bound to leave, a host of petty rookeries to right and left. The passions and antagonisms of a century are not to be obliterated by any stroke of the pen, though legislation may sweep away many obstacles which frustrate peace. The Union of South Africa provides a sound and adequate framework within which the national life can develop; it does not follow that within that framework all the units concerned will at once and simultaneously play the parts for which they are destined. Much bitter and unreasonable opposition had been silenced by the compelling force of the inherent good sense of the Union movement. It is, however, the essential characteristic of all bitter and unreasonable opposition that routed at one point it reappears at another. Forces temporarily cowed raised their heads once more when the inevitable reaction,

following on a period of great national excitement, set in. Bitterness which had been held in check cropped out again when the first practical disappointments of the new order were manifested. Racial animosity flamed up once more over the inevitable collision of ambitions and interests. To-day one is conscious that the Union honeymoon is at an end. The first raptures and roses are over. One is reminded of the young couple who are disconcerted with the revelation of drawbacks in the bijou residence which beforehand seemed to them so desirable an establishment. Smoking chimneys, creaking doors, draughty windows, and a leaking roof are all experiences fraught with disillusion. They have to be lived through and accepted as part of the discipline of life, and in the long run a much finer and bigger life is built up through their discipline than can be based on the raptures and roses. But the process of education is a difficult one for nations as well as young people, and South Africa, which is struggling at this moment with just such a period of readjustment after her national honeymoon, is not finding it more easy than anyone else. There is nothing in the least surprising that at the present moment there appears to be all along the line a great falling away from the high aims of the Convention. Through this period of reaction the country was bound to pass before men and affairs could settle down permanently. If people were oversanguine in 1910 as to the immediate settlement of every controversy existing in South Africa, undue pessimism to-day is just as little justified. There has been, it is true, a lamentable recrudescence of racial strife and animosity stirred up in the main through the instrumentality of one man—General Hertzog. The situation so created is awkward and unfortunate, but

it does not justify the lugubrious tones and prophecies of large sections of the British-speaking community. The great fact of the Union stands, and that fact in itself cuts at the roots of Hertzogism. Whatever the efforts of the reactionaries, and however great the immediate mischief they may be able to effect, in the long run they cannot hope to win the day. Every permanent force, every silent influence in the country is working against them. A reactionary propaganda can obstruct and destroy, it can never create and uphold. The living forces of the land, though their manifestations for the moment may not be very obvious, are working in the opposite sense. The depths of the ocean are untroubled though the surface is disturbed. A short choppy sea may produce as much discomfort as a tempest, but it is concerned with a very different measure of peril. And this to a large extent is the position in South Africa to-day. Her national barque is ploughing its way through cross seas in the midst of dirty weather. But there is no menace from a typhoon.

CHAPTER XII

RACIALISM AND THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

And—consequent upon the learning how from strife
 Grew peace—from evil, good—came knowledge that, to get
 Acquaintance with the way o' the world, we must not fret
 Nor fume, on altitudes of self-sufficiency,
 But bid a frank farewell to what—we think—should be,
 And, with as good a grace, welcome what is—we find.

ROBERT BROWNING.

MANY extraordinary misconceptions are prevalent in England to-day as to the position of affairs in South Africa. Gloomy rumours circulate as to racial strife and Dutch supremacy. Many people talk as though the English language were extinct, Dutch the sole medium of instruction in the elementary schools, and the Botha Government devoted all its energies to the hunting out of British officials from the Civil Service. The catch phrase goes round that we have given the country back to the Boers; that all the fruits of the war are wasted; that the long-suffering British are being trampled under foot all day and every day by the Dutch; finally that the hauling down afresh of the Union Jack and the establishment of a South African Republic may be confidently expected in the near future. The traveller who listens to some of these panic-stricken tales might almost expect on landing at Cape Town to hear no language but Dutch spoken in the streets and to find all signs of the British

race swept away. We have generally to thank the extreme 'patriots' for views of this kind : that curious class of patriotism which manifests itself in nervous disparagement of all things British, and is not a little responsible for the illusion among some Colonials that unknown England is a broken down, decadent, decayed country, possessing neither trade, commerce, nor ships. It is this spirit which makes the word 'Imperialism' detestable to many people, and brings the whole idea into discredit. Even the despised Little Englander is apt to show more confidence in the character and capacity of his race than the typical Jingo, who lives apparently in a chronic condition of nerves. It is difficult to understand how such legends can arise, but public opinion in England is weary of South African matters and takes little trouble to inform itself as to the real facts of a somewhat complicated situation. As a matter of fact the whole complexion of the country to-day is far more English than before the war. Certainly Dutch is more in evidence for, since Union, official notices appear in both languages where in former times they appeared in but one. Great efforts are made by certain sections of the Dutch to keep their language steadily to the fore, a point to which I must refer later. But as regards all the talk of trampling and ill will, the whole circumstances which give rise to these stories are grossly exaggerated. Political feeling runs high at times in South Africa as elsewhere, and racialism is by no means extinct. Nevertheless any fair-minded stranger who takes the trouble to listen to both sides in South Africa can only be impressed, not with the measure of strife obtaining in the country, but with the measure of amicable settlement achieved.

I for one was agreeably surprised to find how rapidly the rumours of London were dispelled by the realities of South Africa itself.

Of course there are difficulties of many kinds to be met. A Dutch government has naturally a Dutch complexion, just as much as a Liberal or Conservative government in this country has a complexion obviously distasteful to its opponents. But any sort of charge brought against General Botha of having deliberately conducted his Government on racial lines and with a view to penalising the English is false. A broad-minded, generous statesman of great personal charm, and largely gifted with the indefinable but precious endowment of temperament, no man could have accepted his position under the Crown more loyally, or have laboured more with a single eye for the welfare of South Africa as a whole. He has had great difficulties with the recalcitrants of his own party, and the schism of an extreme racialist like General Hertzog has complicated his task in every way. On the other hand he has had to meet a great deal of carping and ungenerous criticism from the Unionist Party in South Africa who, since the unfortunate retirement of Sir Starr Jameson, have shown little statesmanship in their handling of political affairs. It is perhaps galling for the English to feel that the first elections under the Act of Union placed a Dutch government in power. Allowances must be made for the resentment of the natural man at so curious an outcome of the war. This fact is no doubt the basis of the top-dog criticisms to which I have just referred. But viewed in its broad aspects it must, I think, be admitted that the return to power of a Dutch government was a fortunate circumstance for the country as a whole. Government

by the English would have been more efficient, for the political standard of the Dutch rank and file is lower than that of the other race. As against this there have been advantages of another kind. The primary need of South Africa was the acceptance of Union by the rank and file of the Dutch—slow and often ignorant people, who in many cases were left amazed and bewildered by the action adopted by their own leaders. To make that action comprehensible to them was the first necessity of the situation. It was comprehensible to the English, but unless it carried the acceptance of the other half of the country Union itself must have failed. The whole framework of government in South Africa to-day is English to a degree the Dutch little recognise themselves ; but those changed conditions have been accepted quietly, almost imperceptibly, by the rank and file, thanks to the presence of their own people in power, as they could never have been accepted under English guidance. Suspicions which would have been aroused, obstructions which would have occurred, have to a large extent been avoided by the present position. The Union has been consolidated with less friction under Dutch rule than would have been set up by the process under English rule. There have been difficulties with the racialists as it is, but those difficulties would have been magnified tenfold in any other circumstances.

Political changes will in time put the English party in power, but when their turn comes they will step into possession of an accepted order of things, and in the long run their own position will be simplified by this fact and their power of usefulness increased. Measures have been carried by the Botha Government for which even Dr. Jameson's unrivalled powers of persuasion

could not have won popular consent. To take an instance in point—General Smuts's Defence Act for the provision of the military forces of the Union has won universal praise and admiration. Under the Defence Act all citizens between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one were called upon to register themselves during the month of January 1913. The Active Citizen Force contemplated was estimated at 25,000 men. The Act is a clever compromise between the voluntary and the compulsory principles. A citizen may enter voluntarily for the four years' peace training in the Active Citizen Force or he may serve for four years in a Rifle Association with liability for war service. The Act provides that 50 per cent. of the total number of citizens throughout the Union liable to peace training shall undergo such training, the remaining 50 per cent. serving as members of the Rifle Associations. The country is divided into fourteen military districts arranged on a basis of population and similarity of political character. Each of these districts has to produce a certain prescribed number of men for service in the Active Citizen Force. Whenever the number of citizens in a given military district who have entered voluntarily for peace training falls below the prescribed number the shortage is to be made good by ballot. There seems little fear at present that South Africa will be called upon to fall back on the compulsory clauses of the Defence Act. The youth of the country have responded to the call for voluntary service in a very striking way, and no fewer than 55,000 men have enrolled themselves as members of the Active Force—that is to say, more than double the number contemplated. So far, therefore, from having any difficulty in raising its Defence Force, South Africa

is in the position of being unable to accept and train all the volunteers who have come forward. A common duty and a common service are the best of all methods for bringing the races together ; but can it be seriously suggested that such a measure of compulsory military service put forward by the South African Unionists would have had the smallest chance of acceptance from the Back Veld ? As it is, the Defence Act is not only accepted but universally allowed to be working with great success to-day. These are very solid gains when any long view of the future is taken, and should help to reconcile fair-minded Englishmen to their temporary exclusion from office.

So far as the English-speaking section of South Africa is concerned there is one point to be borne steadily in mind. We fought the war, not to establish a racial supremacy differing only in degree but not in kind from the old mischievous racial supremacy of President Kruger's days, but to establish the principle of equal rights. Those equal rights are now assured, and it is a little puzzling to understand how the English can doubt their entire capacity of making good their position in the land without artificial protection of any kind. It may seem rather hard on the victors in a great struggle to expect them to win for themselves, bit by bit and constitutionally, political power which at one moment rested in their hands by right of conquest alone. But in due time they will reap the reward of such forbearance. The generous recognition of the political rights of the vanquished, the self-denying ordinance which caused the English to strip themselves of all prerogatives and meet their enemies of yesterday on even terms at the poll, was not mere quixotic magnanimity. It was, however unconsciously, one of

the most striking demonstrations of political wisdom ever made by the Anglo-Saxon race, and so history will judge it. For, perilous though the experiment may have seemed at the time, it was the only possible way of dealing with the hard facts of a bi-racial community, especially a community composed of elements so stubborn and self-assertive as the South African peoples, English and Dutch alike. Many people in South Africa to-day may be heard complaining of the Union, and declaring that it has falsified the high hopes of its founders. That complaint is best answered by a query as to what the position of South Africa without the Union would have been: four artificially separated and hostile Provinces struggling among themselves over diverse political and economic problems. The Union is still in its infancy, and years must pass before the new machinery of government can settle down smoothly and produce really adequate results. Various departments will probably have their vulnerable sides for some time to come. It will be easy to grumble and to criticise—to say how far this or that falls short of any desired standard of perfection. But the solid achievements of the Union already far outbalance the failures of which one is told; and though the particular difficulties with which this chapter deals are troublesome they are not likely to prove permanent obstacles in the path of national development.

Clause 137 of the South Africa Act—one of the most important of its provisions—runs as follows:

Both the English and Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union and shall be treated on a footing of equality and possess and enjoy equal freedom rights and privileges: all records journals and proceedings of Parliament shall be kept in both languages and all Bills, Acts, and notices of General public importance or interest issued by the Government of the Union shall be in both languages.

The recrudescence of racialism, due to the propaganda of General Hertzog, has had a very disturbing effect among the English in two directions. They are profoundly uneasy over the question of the Civil Service and that of education. In both respects they are of opinion that the weapon of the language is being used unfairly against them. This question of the language twines itself in and out of every aspect of South African affairs. It is necessary, therefore, to glance in some detail at the particular circumstances to which it gives rise, both in connection with education and with the ordinary conduct of public business.

Now there are certain elementary propositions in connection with South Africa of which a good many people seem to lose sight. The first of those propositions and one always forgotten by the extremists, both Dutch and English, is the fact that the country is bi-racial and bi-lingual; the Dutch-speaking population, it is estimated, being 60 per cent. of the whole. In a state so constituted there is no escape from a language problem, and the situation is not rendered more simple by the fact that, unlike Canada where a somewhat similar problem exists, the competition between the languages is an uneven one. Let us admit at once that for all practical purposes of government, a bi-racial, bi-lingual community is a great nuisance. From the point of view of the permanent official there is nothing to be said for it. It leads to redundancy, multiplication, and expense; it does not make for efficiency like a uni-lingual state. But when the chances of fortune have decreed that any given country is inhabited by two races, and races speaking different mother tongues, this particular problem in government with all its difficulties has to

be faced. It can only be faced in one of two ways : either by the total suppression of one language or by the complete and full recognition of both. The first method was the one applied by the Dutch themselves to the Huguenot settlers of the eighteenth century. It is not a little amusing to remember that when the luckless French immigrants petitioned Simon van der Stel for the use of their language and religion, the only consolation they received from the famous Dutch governor was a peremptory order to 'restrain their French impertinences and remember the oath of fidelity and obedience which they had taken to the Company.' Such an attitude simplifies government in many respects, but we committed ourselves by the terms of the South Africa Act to a wholly opposite principle, and there is little doubt that in the long run the wisdom of that course will be manifested.

Under the South Africa Act it was provided that the appointment of civil servants should be vested in a Public Service Commission, not in the Government of the day. It was a very unfortunate circumstance that the first Commission appointed was not a strong one and failed to command general public confidence. Colonial governments dealing with the needs of relatively small communities are peculiarly liable to charges of favouritism and jobbery as regards their own supporters, and in the sensitive, not to say suspicious, state of public opinion this is a point which the Botha Government would have been wise to safeguard with special care. A really strong Civil Service Commission would have closed the door on many of the uneasy criticisms and suspicions which have since crept in. So far, however, as the Civil Service is concerned, there is very little evidence to support the charges

freely made as to the wholesale dismissal of British officials since Union to make place for Dutchmen. The air is full of such rumours in South Africa, but it is most difficult to crystallise them into facts. Individual cases of hardship and injustice may, and probably have, arisen, though it is not easy to obtain any direct evidence on this point. The charge of a deliberate and set policy of exclusion may be dismissed as false. Retrenchment on a large scale in the Civil Service was a necessary sequence of Union. One of the great advantages claimed for the latter was the saving in expense which would follow from the pooling of four Civil Services into one. Theoretically everyone thought this an admirable arrangement; practically everyone resented the personal applications which were bound to take place. The men who were retrenched naturally sought an explanation of the fact in the supposed racial bias of the Government rather than in any question as to their own capacities. In many cases where retrenchments were bound to take place among men of equal intelligence and character, the hardship must have seemed a very real one to those who were unavoidably left out. Retrenchment, it must also be remembered, carried liberal terms. In about 75 per cent. of the cases such retrenchment was actually sought by young men who left the service with pensions or gratuities which enabled them to start afresh in various walks of life. It must next be borne in mind that, owing to the overwhelmingly English character of the Civil Service at the moment of Union, the incidence of retrenchment was far heavier among British than Dutch officials. The whole question was the subject of a three days' debate in the Union Parliament in April 1912, when the charges brought by the Unionists

of favouritism and ill will against the Government broke down. It was admitted during the debate that 85 per cent. of the existing civil servants were English; and to-day, with one exception, the permanent head of every department under the Union Government is an Englishman. It is not unnatural that a Dutch Government has been anxious to secure a larger representation of Dutchmen in the Civil Service. All governments succumb in more or less degree to the frailty of being kind to their friends, as every person not a humbug admits. General Hertzog made no secret of his opinions on this subject, and it is said that when Minister of Justice he distributed his patronage on frankly racial lines. This policy, however, has never had any support from General Botha or the Union Government as a whole, though in this as in many other respects General Hertzog's action has probably coloured the popular view. Though no figures are available, the complexion of the Civil Service still remains preponderatingly English, and so long as the latter are willing to overcome their reluctance to qualify in the two languages there can be little fear as to their maintaining that numerical superiority intact.

So far as education is concerned the misconceptions are even more extraordinary than over the Civil Service. I was told on several occasions in South Africa what a cruel hardship it was for English children to have to submit to being educated in Dutch, as though that circumstance was the normal position of affairs. I found on inquiring that the origin of this complaint lay in the isolated cases of English children living in purely Dutch districts where, short of providing the English child with a separate school and teacher to itself, the instruction had to be given in the language of

the majority. Such cases are rare, and it is absurd to generalise from them and to base complaints on foundations so slender. The difficulty of bi-lingual schools is considerable, but after many stormy experiences the educational systems of the various Provinces have settled down on the whole satisfactorily. The unfortunate school-child has been made the shuttlecock of politicians in South Africa just as fully as in England. In both cases the agitation which takes place on platforms has curiously little relevance to conditions within the school. It is a lamentable circumstance that children should be made the subject-matter for orgies of intolerance among politicians, as regards either religion or race. The only saving circumstance is that the little victims themselves are happily unconscious of the tumult, few echoes of which really find their way into the class-rooms. At no point can racial animosity be more disastrous than over matters of education, and the Hertzog agitation has merely resulted in many cases in penalising the Dutch—not the English—child, and saddling it with a training less efficient than otherwise it might have received.

The knotty point with which bilingual education is confronted is that of the medium of instruction. When either race is hostile towards the language of the other, the language which manages to install itself as sole medium of instruction manifestly obtains a great hold over the childhood of the country. Education in the Boer Republics was in a most backward condition before the war. Subsequently the educational efforts of the Crown Colony administration were above all praise and achieved remarkable results. One mistake, however, was made, perhaps

not an unnatural mistake in the circumstances, but one which led subsequently to considerable difficulty and friction. Though it would be too much to say that a forcible effort was made to anglicise the schools, that tendency certainly existed. It was one which led to much difficulty in the Free State and, as we shall see in a moment, proved fruitful in trouble. The one fatal mistake in dealing with the Dutch is to give them a grievance; as a people they have a quite peculiar talent for exploiting the smallest injury, real or imagined. The school question proved a handle which the racialists worked with great vigour to the considerable detriment of educational peace and efficiency. Matters have settled down in this as in other respects, and generally speaking the principle adopted throughout South Africa to-day is for the child's mother tongue to be the medium of instruction in the lower standards, English being introduced as the medium for the Dutch child in the higher standards; whereas the English child keeps the English medium throughout and learns Dutch as a second language. This broad principle works out in different ways according to the circumstances of the provinces—education, it must be remembered, being a matter dealt with by the Provincial Councils and not by the Union Government.

In Natal practically no bi-lingualism exists, and the instruction in the schools is English throughout.

Cape Colony, which has suffered much from the foolish recrudescence of racialism, has theoretically stiffened up its educational system in a bi-lingual sense by the Language Ordinance of 1912, the salient points of which are described as follows in the Education Gazette of the Cape Province :

They are (a) the instruction of pupils up to and including the fourth standard in the home language, whether English or Dutch ; (b) the use above the fourth standard of one or other or both languages as media of instruction, at the option of the parent ; (c) the giving of adequate facilities for the instruction of pupils in the language not used as the medium of instruction ; and finally (d) the conditions in regard to the training of teachers, candidates being entirely free to choose the medium of instruction. A clause which carefully safeguards the rights of teachers at present employed in public schools is also contained in the Ordinance.

This system if carried out in its entirety would require considerable time for its evolution, to say nothing of considerable expense. If it pleases the extremists it is certainly desirable to leave both languages free to be used as media of instruction for the higher standards. Practically the suggestion is nonsense and can only be detrimental to the progress of the Dutch child. The subjects of the higher standards are best and most easily taught in English, a view which is increasingly held by the Dutch parents themselves. It is not a little striking how the latter tend more and more to dissociate themselves from the educational absurdities of the Hertzog party. Not the least of the many ironies in South Africa to-day is the number of Dutch children who in broken Taal inform their teachers that English is their home language and that ' father says they must have lessons in English.' The educational system of Cape Colony has as its head an official of great experience and judgment in the person of Dr. Muir. Dr. Viljoen in the Free State and Mr. Adamson in the Transvaal are men of no less capacity and good sense, and the united efforts of these three directors have done much for educational peace in South Africa. The systems

adopted in the Transvaal and the Free State are suggestive as demonstrating the compromises at which sensible people of both races arrive—over the heads, so to speak, of the politicians—when practical work is concerned. But, in the Free State especially, educational matters passed through troubled waters before the present position was arrived at. Here was the field on which General Hertzog had the most violent of his racial flings, and as Minister of Education in the Free State after the establishment of responsible government he was in a position for a time to make that fling effective.

General Hertzog had passionately resented the educational policy of the Crown Colony Government, which, as we have seen, had a predominantly English complexion. On the establishment of responsible government in 1907, therefore, he made a vigorous attempt to penalise if not suppress English by the drastic Education Act of 1908, prescribing Dutch as an equal medium of instruction with English for all children. To force an English child, not to learn Dutch as a language, but to be taught all subjects through the medium of Dutch, is most detrimental to the educational progress of such a child and a grave injustice. The policy of the Crown Colony Government may have been mistaken, but it was inspired by a genuine desire to promote educational efficiency. General Hertzog's policy was not only ruinous to educational efficiency but was intentionally aimed at the small English minority in the Free State. Clear thinking is a mental quality for which General Hertzog is not conspicuous, and the Education Act of 1908 was so confused in its drafting that a variety of interpretations became possible in the course of its

administration. The animus of the whole spirit directed against the English was manifested in various ways. Three English school inspectors were dismissed, and at a later date General Hertzog, when Minister of Justice, had the humiliation of being successfully sued by one of them for slander in his own courts. The Classification of Teachers Act of 1910 was a further measure aimed at placing disabilities on English teachers. By this time the British population in the Free State were in revolt, and a Council of Education was set on foot in 1910 to provide Council schools where English children might receive proper instruction in their own language.

In 1910 Mr. Gunn, Director of Education, resigned and his place was taken by Dr. Viljoen. Dr. Viljoen is a South African Dutchman educated at Stellenbosch and Amsterdam, and as he owed his appointment to General Hertzog his advent was regarded by the English in the Free State as the last rivet in the chain which it was sought to place on their necks. But the career of Dr. Viljoen as Director of Education in the Free State is a most striking demonstration of the new spirit which is rising in South Africa among the educated Dutch, and is a proof of their growing desire to seek the good of the country apart from the sterile feuds of race.

Dr. Viljoen, appointed to carry out a certain policy as a racialist, entirely refused to regard the question from any other standpoint save that of an educationist. Setting aside all partisan claims he has devoted himself to the interests of educational efficiency in the Free State and of evolving a system which should be perfectly fair as between the races. Little by little he has restored peace and order in scholastic affairs,

and the language question has now been settled on a fair basis. The feat was a considerable one, but it is all the more remarkable when Dr. Viljoen's birth and antecedents are borne in mind.

Broadly speaking the system of instruction followed now in the Free State, so far as the English child is concerned, is that the medium of instruction is English throughout, unless parents agree to Dutch as a subsidiary medium. Up to Standard IV the medium is purely English, Dutch being taught as a language if the parent approves. As in the Transvaal, there are three types of school. Type A is overwhelmingly English in character with English practically as the only medium. Type B is a mixed type, part English and part Dutch, where instruction is given through parallel classes or through a dual medium. Type B obtains in rural districts where a Dutch population largely predominates. The medium of instruction in such schools is Dutch in the lower standards for all children, English being the medium after Standard IV. The settlement achieved by Dr. Viljoen brings home the truth of the encouraging words of President Brand that whatever the difficulties of the present in the long run 'alles zal recht kom.' Mischievous agitation cannot ultimately set asunder two races destined to be joined together by common circumstances and common duties. But however strongly we British may feel about this, its truth has to be brought home to the Dutch by the Dutch themselves. I have spoken before of the hard pressure of facts which cannot be resisted in South Africa. Those facts are pressing with great weight on the educated Dutch, as Dr. Viljoen's action shows, and are making all along the line for reasonable compromise between the races in the practical affairs of life. At

the same time scholastic matters in the Free State have necessarily suffered severely from the incidents I have described. Despite the better spirit which now obtains, education in the Province is likely to feel the effect for a long time of the set-back which has taken place.

Regulations drawn up with a view to the promotion of racial ends rather than of educational efficiency can only prove stultifying to all progress. This has been particularly the case as regards the appointment of teachers, the Classification of Teachers Act being aimed at limiting the introduction of teachers from overseas. The more intolerant section of the Dutch view with great disfavour the immigration of English teachers into South Africa, and the obscurantist 'sons of the soil' theory has been worked to death in this direction. The theory is the more foolish inasmuch as South Africa is unable at present to provide and train sufficient local teachers to supply the needs of schools. Racialism is certainly to be found in its most unlovely aspect when even a tacit preference is given to inefficiency, and children are sacrificed to the bigotry which prefers no education for them rather than the introduction of English teachers. Progress, however, is being made. At the end of 1912 there were 750 Government and Government-aided schools in the Free State attended by 22,500 children. The teaching staff in the service of the Department amounted to about 1200 persons. Nevertheless it was publicly stated by Dr. Viljoen in November 1912 that no fewer than 13,000 white children are being deprived of education in the Province and 60 formally approved schools exist which cannot be opened owing to the dearth of teachers. There were at the same time some 200 vacancies on the teaching staff of the Depart-

ment and a sum of £4000 had actually been expended in advertising posts for which a wholly insufficient number of South African teachers was forthcoming. General Hertzog's campaign has left the Free State with a very bad name in educational matters, and many teachers avoid the Province, thanks to the sense of insecurity which prevails. As the tension relaxes, however—and Dr. Viljoen's just and conciliatory policy has already effected this to a large degree—the common sense of the situation will assert itself, and English teachers be encouraged to take up posts for which native-born South Africans are not available.

Education of the modern type is a new growth both in the Transvaal and the Free State, and the foundations laid in this respect are among the great achievements of Lord Milner's administration. It still remains something of a pioneer venture, and pioneer ventures call not only for efficiency but for flexibility of mind and character. To deprive the South African child, Dutch fully as much as English, of the advantages of being brought into contact with highly qualified and highly trained teachers from overseas is an act of unjust obscurantism which the common sense of the new South Africa is daily repudiating with greater vigour. Here as elsewhere there must be reasonable compromise over the language question. It is quite unnecessary to insist on complete bi-lingual qualifications for English teachers who are drafted to schools where the whole instruction given is through the English medium. It is a matter for arrangement that such schools should be staffed with properly qualified Dutch teachers for the instruction of Dutch. The advantages for an English child in learning Dutch are indisputable, and it is an advantage which every sensible person should desire to bring within

its reach. But it is wholly unreasonable to demand that capable English teachers, whose work lies with the higher standards, should be called upon to have some abstract qualification, never required in practice, for teaching history and literature in a foreign language to children for whom Dutch is not a mother tongue. These observations about the importation of overseas teachers apply throughout the Provinces (save Natal), and it is one of the matters the solution of which must be sought in the growth of an adequate public opinion on the whole subject.

Turning to the Transvaal, much the same principle works out in the following way. As in the Free State, there are three types of schools designed to meet the varying needs of the population. Roughly speaking, 55,000 children are being educated in the Transvaal, and the urban schools in Johannesburg and Pretoria account for two-fifths of the whole, say 20,000 children, practically all English. No English child in these urban schools is taught through the medium of the Dutch language; the education given is purely English throughout. The Dutch language is a compulsory subject in all schools, but parents may withdraw a child if so desired from such instruction. Actually less than one per cent. avail themselves of the privilege.

In the Provincial Dorps—where the needs of a mixed population have to be met—a different system exists, Dutch and English children being taught respectively in parallel classes. These schools account for one-eighth of the whole, say about 7000 children, and again the English are taught through the English medium alone, Dutch being taken as a language.

The third type of schools is to be found in the country districts where the population is over-

whelmingly Dutch. Some 18,000 children are educated in these schools where the medium of instruction is Dutch. A few English children in these districts receive their education in Dutch, and English is taken as a language. But this is a question of organisation and expense, not of racialism. So much for the English child. As for the Dutch child, it learns through double or concurrent media. Infants and Standards I and II are wholly Dutch in medium; then English is introduced gradually, till in Standards VI and VII nothing else is given. This bi-lingual training may seem somewhat cumbersome, and it is certainly not ideal from the educational point of view. But as I have had occasion to say over and over again, the bi-lingual, bi-racial conditions of South Africa are imposed upon the country by circumstances, and those circumstances have to be taken as they are and met accordingly. There can be no hardship in the fact that the English child is taught Dutch. A mutual knowledge of each other's tongue is surely the first condition for arriving at a good understanding between the races. Anyone acquainted with social and political life in Canada can only be of opinion that compulsory bi-lingualism would be a very fortunate circumstance in that country, anyway in the Eastern Provinces. The French and English speaking Canadians are amazingly ignorant of each other's language. Accordingly the degree of separation between them is astonishing and it is a factor most inimical to the growth of Canadian nationality. The racial question is complicated in Canada by a religious question, which South Africa is mercifully spared; the dividing line in Canada being Catholic and Protestant as much as French and English. Both races live in undesirable seclusion, each knowing nothing

of and caring less for the concerns of the other. This is inevitable ; for without a common language it is impossible for the one side to arrive at a just comprehension of the other's point of view, let alone sympathy for the latter. A great language such as French holds a very different position from the Taal, and it is not a little surprising that no Canadian statesman has arisen to preach to both races alike how much the intellectual life of the country would be deepened by a fuller recognition of the great heritage which the joint streams of French and English tradition bring within the reach of the latter-day Canadian. Languages are like mirrors reflecting different aspects of the soul ; the possession of tongues is at all times a great measure of intellectual enfranchisement. This is pre-eminently the case with a language of first-rate importance such as French—a language which has created and moulded the forms of men's thoughts, and through the medium of which great intellectual expressions have taken place. The acquisition of a second language gives a child a nimbleness of mind which otherwise would be lacking, and this is true even to a certain degree of the Taal and still more so of the modified form of High Dutch taught in the elementary schools. There should therefore be nothing to grumble at, in view of the racial circumstances of South Africa, in the fact that English children are encouraged to learn Dutch. So long as the racial bogey persists many foolish and irritating circumstances are bound to arise over the question of education. Once that bogey is laid matters will be adjusted amicably on a common-sense basis. It should be clearly understood that so far as the present educational system is inefficient the brunt of that inefficiency falls upon the Dutch not the English child. It is true, however,

that the latter is often handicapped by teachers whose qualifications are primarily bi-lingual and afterwards educational.

The Dutch have a good deal of shrewd good sense, and they will not be content indefinitely to see their children penalised for the benefit of a senseless race-agitation. Signs of this new spirit have already shown themselves. At an Educational Conference held in the Transvaal in 1912 at which the Back Veld was overwhelmingly represented, a delegate who proposed a vote of no confidence in the Educational Department for their supposed unsympathetic handling of bi-lingual instruction could get no seconder for his motion out of an assembly of sixty-eight people. The Dutchman is thoroughly alive to the advantages of making the best of both worlds. If he clings to political power he is also determined, since the war, that his children should be at no disadvantage as regards education but be properly trained to compete for the prizes of the State.

Secondary education has felt the same backwash of racial agitation that has affected the elementary schools, and the establishment of a South African University worthy of the Union has been checked owing to the language dispute. The extremists take exception to the site at Groote Schuur which has been offered, and look askance at the Wernher-Beit donations of half a million sterling towards the cost of construction. Some of the existing South African colleges view with considerable jealousy the suggestion to establish a Central University, and the language question again forces itself into the dispute. The acrimony with which academics carry on their disputes is proverbial throughout the ages, and a fierce scholastic battle has raged over the whole question. The decision

of the Government to refer the matter to a Commission of Inquiry gives a variety of heated passions time to cool down, and is probably the wisest course to have adopted in the circumstances.

No one will, I think, be at any pains to deny that the actual moment of transition is full of irritating circumstances for the English, and that they have much cause for complaint as regards the action of the extremists. Patience and forbearance can present themselves at times as extraordinarily objectionable virtues, and the language question has aspects which not unnaturally make its frank acceptance a matter of difficulty. It is undoubtedly true that the circumstances of a bi-lingual State make in a curious way for discrimination against the stronger race and the stronger language. Place languages such as Dutch and English on a basis of political equality, and in practice it works out that English is at a disadvantage. The competition is obviously not between peers, and the weaker language imposes its conditions on the stronger and acts as a drag on the wheel. An educated Dutchman necessarily knows English; there is no such necessity for an educated Englishman to know Dutch. The tendency therefore in the Civil Service and in educational matters is involuntarily to penalise the Englishman at the expense of the Dutchman, and efficiency in administration may be and often is sacrificed to bi-lingual considerations. Sons of the soil are appointed, thanks to their knowledge of the language, who are otherwise possessed of but meagre qualifications.

We have glanced at the educational aspect of the question and recognised its limitations. Similarly in the conduct of public business the duplication of all documents and papers leads to a great waste of time

and money. Printing which in English costs 4*d.* per head of the population in South Africa costs 4*s.* per head. Reports are delayed and papers held back owing to the time required for translation. The evidence of the Financial Relations Committee was never published at all because the cost of its appearance in both languages would have been prohibitive. Similarly in the Union Parliament I have often known a considerable amount of time wasted by the wearisome repetition in both languages of formal documents which everyone understood—a very different matter from leaving members free to speak in their own language. All this is tiresome enough, but I can only repeat it is part and parcel of the conditions imposed on South Africa by its bi-racial circumstances. Practical government is no doubt made more simple by the extinction of diverse nationalities and languages, but from every other point of view the extinction of such national characteristics is a disaster. The deadly tendency of the modern world to stereotype conditions and reduce all nations to one common denominator is a tendency to be resisted. Diversity is of the very essence of a fruitful national life. The British of the Homeland are not one race but four; and that diversity of type and diversity of national gift has been our strength all along our history. Similarly the strength of the Empire will rest not on its production of one form of stereotyped Imperial life, but in the fullest and freest expression of nationality among the different States. In so far as each Dominion develops its own national life to the highest point, in so far the corporate life of the whole is fuller and richer. Not a dull uniformity, but unity in diversity, should be the ideal at which to aim. In so far as Canada and South

Africa base their national life on the elements drawn from two races not one, just so far will the type of nationality evolved in the long run be the better worth having. These advantages are not in the least obvious to the harassed administrator struggling with the practical difficulties of a bi-lingual office, but, like all subtle things of the spirit, the element which defies analysis may be the most precious of all. Any rough-and-ready attempt therefore in South Africa to extinguish the Dutch language and to enforce such extinction by right of conquest would have been not only a moral wrong but an administrative foolishness. Our governing genius, as already remarked, does not lie in the direction of dragooning a conquered race. Our problem on the morrow of the war was to associate our former enemies in the task of government. A very bold and very simple policy may be the only safe course amid perilous circumstances. That course was followed when we offered to the Dutch complete equality in the State at every point with ourselves.

It may be said that the revival of racialism and the bitter feeling prevalent to-day hardly point to the full success of that experiment. But this is to take, I think, a superficial view of the present situation. The Dutch are not an analytical people, and probably the extremists are little conscious of the causes from which their own actions spring. What the Dutch fear above all things is an attack on their racial integrity. Hence they stand out for the utmost letter of the law as regards equality, and very often by so doing create grotesque and foolish situations which prove very irritating to the English section. Much time and much temper are wasted over these performances, but what the English in their turn fail to see is the

true inwardness of the situation revealed by this very attitude. This passionate assertion all along the line of race, of nationality, of language which alarms and perturbs the English is a proof not of strength but of weakness. The very fact of the assertion points to a challenge. We never protest about the things of which we are sure; we take them for granted as a part of the unseen and sacred foundations of life. No English person in any part of the world finds it necessary to assert his belief in the English language and the importance of English ideals. He no more asserts such things than his belief in the principle of gravitation or the roundness of the globe. And so viewed there is something not a little pathetic in the racial assertions of the South African Dutch. This small and isolated people with their passionate sense of nationality find themselves menaced, inevitably and hopelessly menaced, by the great on-coming compelling wave of Anglo-Saxon civilisation. However complete the political equality laid down, however scrupulous the regard for Dutch susceptibilities and rights, in the long run there can only be one outcome of any sort of free and even competition between the races. English methods and the English language are bound increasingly to win their way and permeate the whole structure of society. It cannot be otherwise, because business and commercial development in the country are bound to follow English lines. The Dutch themselves recognise this fact in their anxiety that their children should learn English. It is quite natural that this process of peaceful permeation should be hated and resented by the more narrow spirits among the Dutch Nationalists, and that they should seek to raise all manner of artificial barriers in order to

protect the integrity of their race. But those artificial barriers tell their own tale and in the long run they cannot endure. No efforts however frantic to keep the races apart, to cherish old feuds, to cause the national life to flow in two separate streams can in the long run prove successful. Dutch and English are not segregated as the French to a large measure are segregated in Canada. They are scattered all over the country; and time, propinquity, and the actual needs of a common life can only draw them closer and closer together. Whatever barriers may be reared and sustained for a time, they have not in them one element of permanency. On one basis alone can Hertzogism flourish and persist—any effort on the part of the English artificially to hasten a process which will be effected gradually and peacefully in course of time. The more the English resent the use of the Dutch language, the more they grumble at the present bi-lingual regulations, the more passionately will the Dutch cling to such things. There was never an instance more striking of the old adage that the longest way round is the shortest way home. South Africa is at all times the land of paradoxes, and the greater the scope offered to the Dutch language the more secure the English position will become. The spirit of nationality lives by attacks upon it. The day that the English stop girding at the Dutch, the ground is cut away from beneath the feet of the extremists.

Here as elsewhere in South Africa it is a little difficult to understand the lack of self-confidence shown by the English in themselves, their race and their language. The English language is really quite capable of taking care of itself without protection of any kind. It is not likely to succumb before the Taal even though

Taal were installed as the official language of South Africa. The bi-lingual qualifications for the Civil Service undoubtedly press very hard, as we have seen, on any English officials who have to qualify in Dutch, but the hardship has two sides, for it would be equally unfair if officials speaking English alone should be sent into purely Dutch districts. It must always be remembered that shortly before Union, Dr. Jameson, when Prime Minister of the Cape, had made bi-lingual qualifications compulsory for the Cape Council Service, a course which was taken in order to meet the practical necessities of government. These circumstances are obviously irksome to the English, who are not naturally good linguists, and as a rule meet the difficulty by imposing their own language as much as possible on all parts of the world where they settle. It is quite natural that some among them murmur and ask for what purpose the war was fought if the net result is to make the country more Dutch than before. It is perfectly true that under the Union the Dutch language is more to the fore than in the old days. At the Cape Town railway station, for instance, information is laboriously put up in two languages which everyone understands in one alone. I have heard of Dutch travellers who grumbled that the dining-car attendants were not all bi-lingual and did not produce a *menu* in Dutch. One section is always on the look-out for any fancied slight to the Dutch language and a cry is raised whenever the strict letter of the law is departed from in these matters. All this may be very exasperating, but the agitation is essentially manufactured and its roots do not strike deep. It only lives on opposition and it will die a natural death in good time. But while the English fret and fume

naturally enough at all this; slowly and silently the great wave of which I have spoken is washing in all around. And it will wash in the more rapidly when both races alike get out of their present narrow rut and view South Africa from the standpoint of the needs of a South African nation, not from the sectional and separatist standpoint which exists at present.

It will be a point of honour with the Dutch to preserve every aspect of their nationality intact so long as they fear that the English are bent on forcible absorption of that nationality. Remove that fear and the common sense of the situation asserts itself. Neither race can build up the land single-handed; neither can worship at the altars of the other. Both, however, can worship at the common altar of a South African nationality, to which each side will bring the best of its racial endowment. The future of South Africa will evolve on English rather than on Dutch lines because for all practical purposes the English methods in commerce and government will be the more efficient. But when that day arrives there will be no sting or mortification in the situation for the Dutch, since the evolution will have taken place on joint lines, and the strictly English point of view will have been modified as profoundly during the process as the strictly Dutch one. The South Africans of the future will probably make merry over the perplexities of their forefathers and wonder how it came about that such molehills were magnified into mountains. No one can hope or desire that the Dutch language should disappear; but as the two races adjust themselves into one united people, the language question will adjust itself also. The equal rights of the Dutch language will be maintained unimpaired, it will remain the home language

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of many South Africans and hold its place in all public and official matters whenever necessary. But as the friction between the races passes away English, when convenient, will be increasingly used by general consent for the prompt transaction of business. The waste of time, money, and convenience ; the foolish duplication of business which now takes place—not to serve any practical end but merely to assert a principle—will pass away when the principle itself is merged in that wider whole of a vigorous, self-respecting South African nationality.

CHAPTER XIII

HERTZOGISM AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Only a torch for burning, no hammer for building ?
Take our thanks, then, and—thyselſ away.

CARLYLE.

We are no longer citizens of a single nation ; we are participators in the life of mankind, and joint heirs of the world's inheritance. Strengthened by this wider communion and ennobled by this vaster heritage, shall we not trample under foot the passions that divide, and pass united through the invisible portals of a new age to inaugurate a new life ?

ARNOLD TOYNBEE.

It is not a little surprising in South Africa to-day to hear the way in which many people speak of the war. Probably the average traveller lands at the Cape with much the same feeling as myself, namely that any casual or haphazard references to the events of 1899-1902 would be tactless and in bad taste. But after a time the feeling wears off, thanks to the rather careless attitude on the whole subject of the average South African himself. Sometimes it is difficult to realise that the country has so recently passed through an ordeal so great. In the same way as all outer signs of the struggle have vanished, the social relations of life, generally speaking, have been resumed without apparent effort. The enemies of yesterday are to be found working peaceably side by side, pursuing their normal occupations as though they had never

exchanged the farm and the counting-house for the firing-line and the battle-field. The fierce and violent animosity which lingered on for years in the Southern States after the War of Secession, and even now persists in some degree, has not shown itself to anything like the same extent in South Africa. I was astonished to realise how much good-natured chaff passed on occasions between men who had fought on opposite sides. They would discuss their reminiscences and the chances of the struggle as though they were talking of a polo match. Facetious remarks as to who was caught or ambushed on some occasion when the speakers had met with guns between them are common enough; each making merry over the blunders of the other. I was present at one luncheon party—and a most pleasant party it was—at which the guests consisted of a famous Boer general, a redoubtable leader on the English side, a former Cape minister whose relations at one time with the Imperial Government were of the worst, a prominent Milner official, and a well-known Natalian. No one would have suspected, judging from the conversation, that any formidable animosities or differences of opinion had ever risen between any of my fellow-guests. But for the unfortunate revival of racialism, which has stirred up anew considerable strife and ill will, South Africa would have disappeared by this time into the ranks of the happy countries possessing no history. Hertzogism is an unfortunate manifestation, but through some such phase South Africa had doubtless to pass before the final adjustment between the races could take place. It complicates and embitters political matters to-day, but it is an agitation stirred up from the top, not an agitation welling up from the heart of the national

consciousness. As such it need cause no abiding anxiety, for when an agitation rests merely on prejudice and does not spring from real grievance or injustice, its roots are slender indeed.

The surface appearance of South African affairs often gives but slender indication of their true aspect. If one may be permitted such an observation, the sacred right to grumble is one specially cherished by South Africans of both races. To discount a large proportion of that grumbling and not to attach too much seriousness to current tales of woe, is a mental process which every traveller is wise to adopt in the sunny land of Good Hope. The personal relations of life are much less bitter and acrimonious than the newspapers and current gossip would lead one to think. One glance round the dining-room of the Union Parliament House, where legislators of all sides and parties may be found hobnobbing together in the most genial fashion over their meals, dispels many illusions about the permanence of racial feeling and the total suppression of the browbeaten English. And yet, though these instances are suggestive and give rise to some interesting reflections, it would be unsafe to dogmatise from them, and lay down any general rule about peace and reconciliation. Much bitterness exists among people who withdraw themselves for that very reason from the observation of the tourist. The anti-British elements in the country do not cross the path of the English traveller, because the company of the English traveller is the last that they desire. As a traveller, therefore, one is thrown among the well-disposed and friendly Dutch, of whom there are large numbers, and the spirit in which many of them have accepted British

rule is beyond praise. Other sections, however, exist in whom the memories of the past rankle fiercely. Generally speaking they are less educated, less prominent, of less standing than the well-disposed Dutch. But though it is impossible to judge the actual numerical strength of this party, the Back Veld, and the spirit for which it stands, has to be reckoned with throughout the land. Its influence is a potent force in politics to-day, inasmuch as it provides the raw material for any crude appeal to passion and prejudice. Granted the existence of such raw material, it is a task of singular simplicity to set South Africa by the ears, a task for which no special talent is required. In General Hertzog, a sincere but misguided fanatic, the spirit of racialism has found fresh expression. And the bitterness so stirred up is not confined to one race alone: it provokes as much resentment among the English as the Dutch, and warps the thread of all social and political relations.

At present there are two classes of extremists in South Africa—the Dutch extremists led by General Hertzog, whose ideals are as sectional as those of the old Krugerism, and the English extremists, who are as racial and as sectional as the Hertzogites themselves. Racialism is not a perquisite of one party, little though the English recognise their own limitations in this matter. Each side is apt to be full of illusions on this score, both protesting that the flames are fanned by the other alone. As a matter of fact both fan them vigorously: a certain section of the Dutch desiring to see the country run on purely Dutch lines, and a certain section of the English equally anxious to secure a purely British ascendancy. These extremists may be left to cancel out against each other. Midway is a large and rather bewildered body of middlemen inclining to one side

or the other, but all more or less honestly desirous of doing their best for the country as a whole, and all increasingly anxious to escape from the vicious circle of racialism, the evils of which are more and more clear. This centre party is not a party in the political sense, for the men composing it are to be found on both sides of the House. They are the true Nationalists—a title in no sense deserved by some of General Botha's Back Veld followers, who only view South African life from the focus of one race. The hope of South Africa lies in the spread of this true spirit of Nationalism among all sections of the community, a Nationalism which is concerned with seeing things steadily and seeing them whole. I was told on several occasions that, as in the Southern States of America, it is the women of both races who are apt to show the most violence and resentment about the war and are in a large degree responsible for the perpetuation of bad feeling. 'We men have to meet daily in business and politics,' said a South African to me, 'and it is not practical to keep up this sort of feud perpetually. We ask in the end if a man is a good fellow, not what his race is. But the women rub shoulders less with each other. They have more time to sit at home and think, and grievances which we forget rankle with them.' The influence of the Predikants is another mischievous one, and many of them have been responsible for trouble in the country districts. It seems unfortunate that strife should be stirred up by women and holy men, to whom we might have looked for more mollifying influences. But the Boer woman in particular is apt to be a fierce and primitive being, and the considerable influence she wields over her menkind has always been militant rather than conciliatory.

The establishment of Union caused, as we have seen, a truce of God to fall for a while on the animosities of South Africa. The first session^o of the Union Parliament passed off peaceably enough, business in the main being of a non-controversial character. General Botha on assuming office was called upon by many people in South Africa to form a coalition government of all the talents, and to break once and for all with the old mischievous dividing-line of racialism in politics. Ideally there was much to be said for the suggestion ; practically it was not possible. Whatever General Botha's personal wishes in the matter might have been, his party was in no sense ripe for so radical a departure from the lines of government with which they were familiar. No leader, however far-sighted, can lead too far ahead of his party or he runs the risk of getting out of touch with them altogether. Events have proved that General Botha was wise not to risk a break with the Dutch at the moment of Union. Hertzogism would be a far stronger force in the country to-day had the proposed coalition taken place. Any such action on the part of General Botha would have been regarded—and not unnaturally regarded—as treason to his own people. Many Dutchmen who follow him loyally to-day would have been thrown under such terms into the arms of the reactionaries. To say this is not in any way to support the idea that political parties in South Africa should continue to organise themselves on racial lines. The very contrary must, of course, be the wish of every right-minded person. Moreover the process is already initiated, for though the Unionist Party in South Africa is essentially the British party, a certain number of Englishmen support the Nationalists. But great changes in South Africa require time and

patience to carry them into effect, and it is unreasonable to expect the Dutch, a slow-moving people, to advance except by stages. They have first to accept the fact of British rule and a British form of government—propositions sufficiently difficult already for many of them. As the new order settles down, little by little parties will divide themselves on economic rather than on racial lines. The process, however, cannot be hastened artificially. The compelling force of British institutions is one of the most striking features in South Africa to-day. All the slow, silent influences are working in the sense of true union between the races, despite the alarms and excursions which figure largely in Parliament and the Press. It would be ridiculous to expect the great mass of the Dutch to have any abstract enthusiasm for British rule. But the more shrewd and far-sighted among them are beginning to realise that the greater life of the Empire has advantages which do not conflict with their own national ideals. Some of them, I think, are astonished to find how little terrible and irksome is the Imperial authority, and are finding also that British citizenship carries with it many advantages. In time that feeling will permeate more and more among the bulk of the population. Meanwhile it is very important that the enlightened Dutchmen should remain as the leaven among their own people, and that no attempt should be made to drive any wedge in among them before the moment for the rearrangement of parties becomes ripe. General Botha's breach with General Hertzog's agitation has been such a wedge in itself, but it has come in the right way, not through any action on the part of the English, but through a natural process of disintegration among the Dutch themselves. These moments of dissolution and

rearrangement create great confusion among political parties, but so long as they are part of a natural process of growth and development in ideas they sort themselves eventually, as the South African problem will sort itself—however turbulent the moment of transition. The strong wine of British institutions has been poured into Dutch bottles, and we must be patient if some of the weaker vessels show signs of giving way under the process. General Hertzog's revolt is a case in point, and in its causes and consequences it marks a new era in South African history.

General Hertzog had been from the first the stormy petrel of the Botha Cabinet, in which he held the position of Minister of Justice. During the war he was conspicuous as one of De Wet's chief lieutenants and showed great ability as a guerilla leader. Educated at Stellenbosch and Amsterdam, Hertzog is no illiterate, but, on the contrary, is a man of distinct intellectual gifts. My personal acquaintance with him, that of a few moments, is too slight to have conveyed anything but the outer impression of the man—a dark, rather fanatical face, keen searching eyes behind the gold-rimmed spectacles, a slight, restless, alert personality, with a dry smile. He has many friends who testify to his warmth of heart, his absolute sincerity, his personal charm, his many good qualities. The greater the tragedy therefore that he has identified himself with causes and principles which have rendered such gifts useless in the service of a united South Africa. We have seen in the previous chapter how provocative was the part played by General Hertzog in the Free State prior to Union over the question of education. Generally speaking the best way to deal with recalcitrants is to thrust responsibility upon them, and

General Botha probably thought that by inclusion in the Cabinet General Hertzog's racial violences would be kept more in check than if he were left in a position of greater freedom as chorus leader of the young braves who roar so vigorously at Stellenbosch. That hope unfortunately was doomed to disappointment. It is easy to see now that, from the first days of Union, General Hertzog flung all his influence against the task of conciliation and peace with which General Botha's name, to his honour, must always be associated. The spirit of the Convention was violated by the Minister of Justice before the ink on the paper was dry. I heard it said very aptly in South Africa, that whereas General Hertzog always thought of the country as inhabited by Dutch and English, General Botha always thought of it as inhabited by South Africans. The radical difference between these two points of view, with all they imply and entail, is the measure of difference between the two men. Hertzogism is in effect nothing but inverted Jingoism—as bitter, as regardless of the rights and susceptibilities of others, as the coarsest school of a degraded Imperialism. Jingoism and Hertzogism alike stand for doctrines of racial exclusion, and as such there is no place for them in an Empire the strength of which rests upon the mutual toleration and self-expression of the races it includes.

Racial bitterness is of the essence of patriotism in General Hertzog's eyes. While the Prime Minister appealed for popular support on the ground that his party aimed at unity and co-operation between the two races, his colleague was working in a directly contrary sense. It is well to be clear as to the real character of the issue at stake between the two leaders. It is not so much a question of the relations of South

Africa with the Empire—a side issue on which the Hertzogites have been anxious to ride off—as the relations of South Africa within her own coasts. It is a question of Nationalism rather than of Imperialism. South African nationality worthy of the name can never be evolved on the lines of narrow racial exclusiveness for which General Hertzog stands. General Botha's high merit lies in his recognition of the fact that South Africa must base her national life broadly on the best elements of both races. In a country where the Bantu peoples outnumber the whites as five to one, and Europeans of whatever nationality are essentially a white brotherhood in a black continent, what are we to think of a policy which seeks artificially to divide the white minority in two paltry and divergent streams, and sets a sword between men confronted with the common difficulty of some of the gravest problems in government the world has ever known? Nationalism is, and must be, the basis of all true Imperialism. It is the only foundation for a self-respecting relationship between the different parts of the Empire. But it must be a broad, generous Nationalism which looks out; not a narrow, paltry thing hugging its own meagre life in its impoverished arms, fearful of all risks, afraid either 'to come into port greatly or sail with gods the seas.' Patriotism may, as his friends affirm, inspire General Hertzog's behaviour. It does not alter the fact that his policy is not only mischievous but grotesque.

Under the great but peaceable revolution of the Act of Union four separate and self-contained colonies and administrations disappeared from South Africa, leaving in their place, as we have seen, one united government. The task of readjusting all the interests

concerned has been one of great difficulty, and was bound to excite much friction. However fine and generous the feeling which swept the whole country into Union, many thorny questions inevitably waited on the details of the reorganisation. During 1911 the co-ordination of the public services monopolised Parliamentary attention. A good deal of dissatisfaction and friction naturally arose as the new machine settled into place. The reconciliation of warring interests is no easy task; and though everyone in the abstract praised the virtues of economy and the disappearance of administrative redundancy, yet, as we have seen in the previous chapter, each person regarded his neighbour rather than himself as the proper subject-matter for the practice of such economy. In 1912 further political set-backs took place, partly owing to the discontent which had arisen from retrenchments in the Civil Service, partly owing to the dispute in the Cabinet between Mr. Sauer and Mr. Hull, who were respectively Ministers of Railways and Finance. The trouble between them, broadly speaking, was concerned with the old, long-standing friction between the interests of the coast and those of the inland towns. Mr. Hull resigned, but his resignation left the Cabinet in uneasy waters and indirectly led to the dropping of some important legislative measures, including the Railways Constitution Bill, the Financial Relations Bill, and the Immigrants Restriction Bill. As against this General Smuts scored a real achievement in the passing of the Defence Act, and among other minor improvements, a commercial change of great importance was effected by Sir David Graaff in the settlement of the shipping question and the disappearance of the rebæve system.

The above chances and changes are, of course, the common lot of all governments, and but for another influence at work the Botha Cabinet would have pursued its normal way along the ordinary switch-back of party life with a course not more marked by ups and downs than that which characterises any government. But while General Botha laboured in the cause of national unity, General Hertzog was engaged in a task of a very different character. The administration of his own office gave rise, as we have seen, to grave criticisms as to the justice and impartiality with which he distributed patronage. The cry grew in force that in the Civil Service there was special discrimination against the Englishman. General Botha was more and more subjected to the criticism that his Government spoke with two voices: that while he preached peace his colleague was making ready for battle. Not unnaturally the public began to question General Botha's sincerity, and a growing feeling arose that while the Prime Minister applied soothing lotion to the conduct of public affairs, at heart he sympathised with the racial crusade on foot. Hence suspicion, distrust, and restlessness spread through South Africa, none the less mischievous for their intangible character. The English were sore and irritated, and if, as usual, they exaggerated the dangers by which they were menaced, they had considerable grounds for complaint as to the character of the attacks made on their language and their race.

Matters came to a head in the autumn of 1912, thanks to a series of speeches which General Hertzog delivered himself, speeches in which he went out of his way to set forth a view of South African nationality wholly at variance with the spirit of the Act

of Union. At Nylstroom he elaborated a theory of Africander nationality which practically excluded from it all English-born subjects, and he thought fit to apply the insulting term of 'foreign adventurer' to Sir Thomas Smartt, the popular leader of the Opposition, who has lived in South Africa for years and done more for its improvement and development than will ever be laid to General Hertzog's credit. At Vrededorp on November 8 he expounded the doctrine of 'separate streams of nationality' and the importance of keeping the two white races apart. At this psychological moment an election took place at Albany to fill the seat vacated by Sir Starr Jameson. General Botha addressed a large audience at Grahamstown on December 6 and spoke as usual on conciliatory lines, deprecating racialism and accepting South Africa's place as a free nation within the Empire. The following day his obstreperous colleague addressed a meeting at De Wildt and practically traversed every argument advanced by the Prime Minister. General Hertzog on that occasion held up the Empire to ridicule, declared that except when it was of use to South Africa, he took no interest in it, and generally went out of his way to make a series of statements extraordinarily offensive to the British South Africans.

At this point General Botha's patience broke down. Like every other party leader he had been anxious up to the last moment to avoid a crisis among his own people or to precipitate a situation full of grave inconvenience for them. He was roundly abused in South Africa for being patient so long, and thereby creating a wrong impression of his Government and himself. Once determined on action, however, that action was not lacking in vigour. As

we have seen, he had exhausted every effort to keep his impetuous colleague in bounds, but in the end he came to the reluctant conclusion that a spirit so alien to that of the Convention which brought Union into being must wreck Union if persisted in. On December 14, 1912, therefore, General Botha resigned, and on being charged with the duty of forming a new Administration, his Cabinet was reconstructed minus the Minister of Justice. The differences between the two men were set forth very clearly in the dignified statement shortly afterwards issued by the Prime Minister, a statement none the less remarkable for being the work of a man who twelve years ago was in the field against the very Power under which he now holds office. It is desirable to quote this statement *in extenso* since it defines the issues with much clearness :

General Hertzog has gratuitously and unnecessarily put the question whether the interests of South Africa should take preference over those of the British Empire. This question should not have been put. There is no reason for putting it, nor should any reason therefore arise in the future.

The true interests of South Africa are not, and need not be, in conflict of the Empire from which we derive our free constitution. The only effect of speeches such as that made at De Wildt will be to cause doubt as to the real policy of the Government, to create misunderstanding and estrangement between the different sections of South Africa's people, and to undo the great work which has been built up in the past four or five years with so much labour and devotion.

I wish to emphasise that to me the interest of South Africa is supreme, and I believe that this view is almost generally shared by the population of our Union. This, however, does not exclude that I myself and the South African party fully appreciate the Imperial ideal.

Under our free constitution within the Empire, the South African nation can fully develop its local patriotism and national instincts. In these circumstances, it was unpardonable to suggest, as happened

at De Wildt, that the Empire is only good so long as it is useful to South Africa.

Moreover, the pointed condemnation by General Hertzog in his speech at De Wildt of the policy of racial conciliation, which the Government defends, has been understood to mean that General Hertzog's policy was different from that of the Prime Minister, and that therefore the Government spoke with two voices. In these circumstances it was impossible for me to continue at the head of the Government and, as General Hertzog proved to be not prepared to resign, nothing else remained for me but to dissolve the Government by my own resignation.

General Hertzog took his dismissal very ill, and has shown little dignity in the attacks he has since made on his late chief. He complained bitterly in one speech at Smithfield of the 'weakness, indecision, and lack of principle' in the Cabinet. Since he managed to support such lamentable moral shortcomings quite comfortably until his own ejection from office, the criticism probably leaves his former colleagues with their withers unwrung. The effect of all this disturbance on South African political life is not very easy to analyse. It has had a somewhat paralysing influence on Parliament, owing to certain peculiar conditions to which I must refer in a moment, where no discussion of the differences on everyone's tongue took place till the middle of April. On April 29, 1913, a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet was brought forward by the Labour Party working in conjunction with the Hertzogites. For some reason best known to themselves, the Unionist Opposition voted with the Hertzog section on this occasion against General Botha—curious company to keep for a party who pride themselves on their Imperial ideals, and a strange instance of the freaks which the party spirit plays with us all. Even so, General Botha obtained a majority of 27 on the

division. He has been courageous enough to put the welfare of the nation before that of his own race, and since courage in politics is the one quality which above all others pays—a practical truth always ignored by the time-servers—his position will ultimately be fortified, not jeopardised, by the step he has taken.

The course of the third session of the Union Parliament which came to an end on June 16, 1913, though troubled, did not result in that complete deadlock anticipated alike by friends and foes of the Government. The session was not fruitless, for though the University Bill was shelved, thanks to the racial and educational cabals against the Groote Schuur site, three important measures, namely the Financial Relations Bill, the Immigration Bill, and the Native Land Bill, were passed, as well as a host of minor legislative bills. A break in the ranks of the Dutch party has been up to the present an unheard-of event in South African politics, and circumstances so novel have tended to baffle all calculations. Of political organisation in the English sense there is little among any parties in South Africa; among the Dutch such organisation is practically non-existent. The elaborate arrangements by which party organisers in this country keep in touch with their constituencies, the careful checking of the registers, tracing of removals, &c., have no parallel in South Africa. Therefore at the moment of the breach between General Botha and General Hertzog each side found itself non-plussed as to how to carry out the elementary but essential calculation of counting heads. The sympathies of the Free State members are known to be with General Hertzog; but long-suffering though General Botha showed himself to be in his efforts to avoid a rupture, he is, despite his personal charm and geniality, a man

of great force of character and has both flair and judgment as a leader. In any open struggle between the two men it is difficult to think that General Hertzog could come off other than worsted. The Prime Minister has resisted with great firmness the pressure put upon him to restore General Hertzog to the Cabinet. He has entirely declined to make any humiliating compromise with his former colleague and has held unswervingly to the path which after long thought he decided to follow.

The most satisfactory feature, however, of the present situation is the repudiation of Hertzogism by a section even of the Dutch stalwarts. 'No,' said an old Boer who had been a stubborn fighter during the war; 'Hertzog won't do. We signed a Peace at Vereeniging and we must keep to it.' I have heard Boer farmers in the Transvaal express the same view, though they were obviously torn in two between their natural sympathies for this champion of ultra-Dutch ideals and an uneasy conviction that he was engaged in mischievous courses. A striking speech in the same sense was made in the House of Assembly on the occasion of the no-confidence motion by Mr. Maasdorp, who sits for Graaff Reinet, a stronghold of Dutch sentiment. Mr. Maasdorp spoke strongly in support of General Botha and repudiated General Hertzog's policy in emphatic language as calculated to create one of the most wicked race-wars that South Africa has yet known. General Botha's courage so far has met with considerable success. The reactionaries hoped to wreck the Government in the course of the session which ended in June 1913. So far from doing this General Botha's position has distinctly improved since the beginning of the year, and he has rallied more and more to his side the support of the

Dutch-speaking population. The common sense of the average South African, be he Dutch or English, is growing increasingly weary of the constant appeals to race. The dislocation of life and work involved by these sterile disputes becomes a practical inconvenience and as such causes resentment. In the growth and spread of this spirit lies the true corrective of Hertzogism, and all the omens point to such growth.

General Botha has had a task of extreme delicacy, but he bids fair to emerge from it with his character and reputation both as man and as statesman greatly enhanced. He has achieved the difficult reconciliation of loyalty to his high office under the Crown and wise guidance of his own people. He has not hesitated to protest against the doctrine that the 'Africander must baas' when it was preached by one of his own colleagues. He has ruled his Cabinet in the spirit of the Convention; he has stood, at a personal sacrifice hard even to conjecture, for the principle that policies in South Africa should be determined on their merits and not by questions of race; that government should be in the interests of the governed and not in those of one section. He has taken this course at the risk of a rupture with the less educated and reactionary elements of his own party, and—with a few honourable exceptions—he has had to meet nothing but carping and ungenerous criticism from the Unionist Opposition, who seem incapable of making any due allowance for the difficulties of his position. But he carries with him the support of the wise and far-sighted men of both races, and whatever the strength of the Back Veld may prove to be, General Botha has struck a blow at racialism in high places from which that mischievous doctrine can never wholly recover. The Empire has reason to be proud of this

adopted son whose services to South Africa in peace have been as great as those to his own race in war. His presence among the Councils of our Royal Commonwealth is a dramatic tribute to the freedom of institutions on which the Empire rests. Widely separated by age, race, circumstances, and intellectual endowment from George Washington, some comparisons between the two men are obvious. But where it was doubtless the high duty of the one to divide, it has been the happier lot of the other to unite. No estimate of General Botha can be complete without a reference to his wisest counsellor and truest friend—his wife. A warm-hearted, courageous woman of admirable judgment, Mrs. Botha's real nobility of character silences even the spirit of querulous criticism often rife in South Africa. From the Cape to the Zambesi there is but one opinion of the Prime Minister's wife. She has been the good genius of his career—happy lot for any woman—and her qualities compel the admiration and affection of personal friend and political foe alike.

Despite the angry ebullitions, therefore, of the moment, there is no reason to despair of the future of South Africa. There has been, it is true, a note of great confusion and exasperation in public affairs of late; confidence has been disturbed; capital consequently is coy and hesitating; business men have the poorest opinion of the performances of the politicians. In the very exasperation so created the remedy for such evils will be found. Politicians may rage furiously together and tear each other to pieces over such questions as bi-lingualism and the dismissal of British officials from the Civil Service. But '*pur si muove.*' Step aside from politics, and the commercial and economic development of the country, handicapped though it is

in some ways, gives its own reply to the anxieties and disposes of many nervous fears. Financially, as Mr. Merriman pointed out in the Union Parliament in March 1913 during the Budget debate, the Union is in an extraordinarily strong position. Against its public debt of £117,000,000 there were assets such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, sinking fund, &c., amounting to £106,000,000 net, not to mention Crown lands. Granted sound finance any country can look the future in the face with confidence. Moreover the spirit of progress is abroad everywhere. The Union railways under the capable management of Mr. W. Hoy are developing a system which can hold its own for efficiency against all comers. The first South African railway running between Cape Town and Wellington, a distance of fifty-eight miles, was begun in 1859. In 1910 the railway system owned by the Union comprised 7039 miles of open lines with gross takings amounting to £12,056,871, while another thousand miles of lines were under construction. The impetus of railway development after the war came, as many other things came, from the Milner administration, the mileage in the Transvaal and the Free State having been doubled during that time and railway construction in the other Colonies speeded up. And this same spirit of development is to be found in every other direction. If Johannesburg to-day has happily lost much of its old dominating influence in the business world, commercial enterprise is flourishing as never before. New towns are springing up, old ones have been improved out of recognition. Last, but not least, agricultural development, to which I must refer in detail in a subsequent chapter, is revolutionising all the economic and social values in the land, and agriculture, let it always

be remembered, is the great permanent interest in South Africa. Commerce will prove one of the most potent factors in the extinction of Hertzogism; people who want to make money—and they are a large company—will not tolerate unnecessary dislocations of business to please the racial fads of any group of fanatics.

Before bringing this chapter to a close it may not be out of place to make some remarks as to the character and composition of political parties in the Union Parliament.

Politically the Dutch are good disciplinarians. They present themselves at the poll with great punctuality to vote in accordance with the dictates of their leaders. They have, however, a much more imperfect sense of parliamentary practice than that of the average Englishman. The Union Parliament owes many distinguished Front Bench men on both sides of the House to the Transvaal, but, in one respect at least, the old Transvaal tradition of government as applied to the public affairs of the Union has not been fortunate. Parliamentary government in the true sense was unknown in the Republics. The Executive and the caucus were all-powerful. So it comes about to-day that the men from the north, a dominant section in the House, have saddled the caucus system on the Union Parliament with very undesirable results. This mischievous form of party organisation throttles the Assembly, rendering parliamentary life jejune in debate and wholly unreal in atmosphere. Morning after morning the two parties hold their respective caucuses—the Unionist Party have adopted the system as fully as the Nationalists—and arrange the day's plan of campaign. Parliament when it meets in the afternoon is often but a stale record of decisions already arrived at. As a witty South African remarked to me

on one occasion, the system has been carried to such a point of perfection that 'it would really simplify matters and save time and trouble to go a step farther and by a short two-clause bill abolish Parliament and regularise the decisions of the caucus.' During the early months of the year when the country was rent in twain with the Hertzog schism, and the caucus concerned itself with little else, Parliament pursued a dull and decorous path without the smallest public reference being made to events which at any moment might have wrecked the Government. Reticence is a desirable quality both in public and private affairs, but frank and open debate is a more wholesome principle in parliamentary life than party conclaves behind closed doors—doors of course never fully closed and through which all manner of gossip and intrigue breaks out.

The composition of political parties in the Union Parliament to-day is very curious. The Unionists—for so the old Progressives now call themselves—are in the main the British party; the Nationalists in the main the Dutch party, though they number a proportion of Englishmen in their ranks. The dividing line between politicians therefore is still, broadly speaking, that of race, though it was not a little suggestive that, at the critical Albany election held in December 1912, the Unionist candidate had a Dutch name, Mr. Van der Riet, and the Nationalist candidate was an Englishman, Mr. Espin. I have already referred to the sympathies and relationships which are apt to spring up between politicians at home and overseas and the somewhat anomalous situation to which they give rise. This is particularly the case in South Africa. The sympathy of the English Liberals for the South African Nationalists does not rest on any joint stock of ideas or a common

outlook on life. Circumstances may have thrown them into each other's arms, but the Dutch as a people are essentially Conservative and essentially agrarian, and not in the least enamoured of Progressive legislation as such. They are thorough-going individualists, and though the more simple-minded of them regard the Government as a great benign machine from which benefits are to be extracted, that point of view is far removed from the socialistic theory of the State. With the Unionists the situation is no less topsy-turvy. The Unionist Party is really the Liberal and Progressive party in South Africa; it advocates advanced legislation in various directions, including schemes for the taxation of land values, for education, and for immigration. So far as the tariff is concerned they stand for a lower measure of protection than the Nationalists. The Unionist Party, being in a large measure an urban party, is naturally concerned with any point which affects the high cost of living in the towns. But thanks to the more definitely Imperial aspect of this party, thanks also to the chequered chapter of political history which we have examined, they are closely associated with the English Conservatives, though the circumstances of the two parties are in no sense parallel. The result of all this upon South African life is very curious. Panegyrics on the wisdom and goodness of the Liberal Government at home may constantly be found in the pages of certain Nationalist journals; whereas a section of the Johannesburg Press exhausts itself in abusive articles about the selfsame Government, articles which might have originated from a party organ in Fleet Street. All this is natural enough in view of the stormy relationship which has existed between the South African Loyalists and the English Liberal Party, but

it creates a somewhat irrelevant situation to-day when the controversies between the two countries are mercifully at an end. Articles on the evils of Home Rule, for instance, whatever application they may have in England, read somewhat strangely in the Press of a self-governing Dominion. Journalistic criticism from overseas of home politics is welcome and valuable, for the writers being further removed from the fray should be able to judge the issues more dispassionately. It should, however, be fair criticism, not the reproduction of the party gramophones with which we are all familiar. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. The *Cape Times*, under the able direction of Dr. Maitland Park, upholds a very fine tradition in Colonial journalism for fair and broad-minded presentment of Imperial as well as South African affairs. Only the bigot has a happy life in South Africa, and that broader outlook on national affairs for which Dr. Park stands is little to the taste of the extreme Unionists. A paper conducted, however, with a view not to party ends but the public welfare, is a valuable factor in South African life, and it is the honourable distinction of the *Cape Times* to stand for that position. On the purely Dutch side, Dr. Engelenberg controls the *Volksstem* in a spirit no less commendable. Between these extremes there is a wide and wordy margin of journalistic production and warfare, though the enormous superiority of the South African to the Canadian Press must strike any traveller acquainted with both countries.

The charge brought against the Progressives in former times of being controlled by the capitalists has less force than of old, for millionaires such as Sir J. B. Robinson, Sir Thomas Cullinan, Sir George Albu, and others are now to be found on the Nationalist side,

a fortunate state of affairs, for nothing can be more undesirable in politics than the concentration of wealth in one party alone. " But the capitalist element in the Unionist Party—which is still a controlling one—together with their hostility to the English Liberal Party, has had a strange by-product in the creation of that small and rather exotic body, the South African Labour party. So far, the Labour Party only returns six members to the Union Parliament, but it is generally supposed that they will more than double their numbers at the next election. The six present members include one or two thoroughgoing Socialists, and the party of course has its strength among the white mining population on the Rand. The Unionist Party have themselves to thank in some measure for the rise of an organised Labour Party in South Africa. They are, or they should have been, as we have seen, the real promoters of Liberal or Progressive legislation in South Africa. But there can be no question that the British working-man on the Rand, probably a Radical at home, views them with suspicion, first owing to their name, and then owing to the attacks which he finds in the Unionist Press on his special political deities left behind in England. In these circumstances he is not drawn to the essentially British party and feels it necessary to betake himself to a tabernacle elsewhere. That tabernacle the Labour Party conveniently provides, and to it he drifts. As to the functions of the party, they are, owing to the industrial conditions of South Africa and the high wages paid to white labour, of a more academic character than those of similar parties in the Old World. But the recent industrial outbreaks in Johannesburg show that organised, or possibly disorganised labour, has become a force to

reckon with, though at the moment of writing it is difficult to judge what real pressure apart from disturbance it may be able to exercise on public affairs.

The Labour Party in South Africa is relieved from the care of a white proletariat and is mainly engaged in maintaining the present high standard of artisans' wages. They support the spread of white labour in South Africa, but do not appear to have faced that inevitable reduction in the rate of skilled wages which must result from white immigration on any large scale. On the contrary, their efforts are concerned in keeping up the present high standard, an attitude which has earned them trenchant criticism from Mr. Merriman to the effect that they want the country to be a 'closed burrow' industrially. Their native policy aims, if not at complete segregation, at least at separation, so far as may be, of the black and white races. They are opposed to the importation of contract labour, black or white, and are anxious to abolish the existing system of indentured labour on the mines. As to the position of the coloured man, the party as yet has come to no definite decision. The economic condition of the coloured labourer is, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, a very pressing one in industrial matters. Common sense points to the fact that since, in the long run, the value of the work done, not the colour of the workman's skin, determines the rates of pay, the Labour Party must either include coloured workmen within their ranks and seek the co-operation of such men in upholding the standard rates of wages, or be subjected to severe undercutting in the open market. For the rest theoretically they adopt the whole Labour programme of the Old World, utterly remote though

even its partial application to South African conditions is likely to be for many a long day.

The whole character of South African politics differs profoundly from that of the Mother Country, questions of race, as we have seen, assuming an importance in the former case mercifully unknown to us in England. As between the Dutch and English that racial issue is a dwindling one and tends to be replaced more and more by economic considerations. But a racial issue of another kind remains, and is bound to remain the most formidable of all the obstacles which confront the Union Government. The whole question of the relations between the British and Boers is trivial, transitory, and unimportant as compared with the vast and menacing question of the relations between black and white. The problem of the native is the crucial problem which has to be met. And the future of South Africa will turn on the attitude her citizens adopt towards it, and the spirit, just or otherwise, in which they view the unique difficulties and responsibilities it presents.

CHAPTER XIV

THE COMING OF THE NATIVE

In the face of this great problem it would be well that wise men think more, that good men pray more, and that all men talk less and curse less.

SENATOR JOHN WILLIAMS.

FEW changes in South Africa are more striking than the altered position of native affairs since the pre-war days. In 1899 the question was a somewhat academic one. Both the gravity and difficulty of the problem were fully realised by all concerned with native administration, but it excited little general attention among the mass of the people. Naturally at that time public interest was focused on the struggle between the white races, and little heed was paid to the infinitely greater difficulties and perplexities which spring from the presence of the Bantu peoples south of the Zambesi. The lapse of fourteen years has wrought a great change in this, as in many other, respects. To-day the native question is a very live one in South Africa, and its discussion crops up at every turn and corner. This result is in no small measure due to the larger corporate life secured to South Africa by the Union Government. Hertzogism is of course a disturbing factor in the present political situation, but this recrudescence of Krugerism under modern terms is not likely to alter the fundamental facts of the Union of South Africa. Politics

may for the moment be difficult and confused, but the very form they take serves to throw into stronger relief the true genius and statesmanship of the men who welded the destinies of South Africa into one coherent whole, and abolished the warring administrative competitions of four petty States. Many years must pass before the Union is finally consolidated and comes to its full stature among the governments of the Empire. But much has been accomplished since 1910, and it is within this ampler framework of a larger national life that the native question assumes dimensions of ever-growing importance.

This difficult question is, however, not peculiar to the African continent. It hangs like a dark and menacing cloud over the future of nations, and presents a new and incalculable factor in *welt politik*. South Africa merely provides a prominent example of a class of political problems which are forcing themselves to the fore all over the world—problems to the gravity of which even educated British public opinion is as yet but half awake, whereas the democracy as a whole has no conception of the mighty change in progress. What is to be the political status of educated members of coloured races within areas governed according to European ideas? What in particular is to be their status within an Empire which calls itself proudly a crowned democracy? It is no exaggeration to affirm that this question is in a very special sense the one with which the twentieth century will have to make its count. If the nineteenth century was remarkable for the adjustment of democratic relations and institutions as between various classes of white men, the twentieth century, built up on the foundations of popular government, will have to meet a situation infinitely more

difficult and more complex, namely the adjustment of democratic relations between white men and civilised black men. Will democracy itself survive the test when faced with the application of doctrines of political equality and equal franchise rights to white and black alike? The example in this field of the United States is not encouraging. The Southern States have passed through a period of chaos since the war, and though feeling is less tense to-day, peace only reigns thanks to the virtual suppression among the negroes of political rights to which theoretically they are entitled by the Constitution. Clearly a mere repetition of democratic formulas at variance with hard facts—a favourite habit of the mentally slothful—will not provide any solution of the difficulty. But these same hard facts have to be faced, and if possible surmounted, if civilisation, especially that proud European civilisation crowned with the laurels of centuries of which we make our boast, is to deal worthily with a novel situation of such singular difficulty. It may not be out of place, therefore, before dealing with the practical aspect of South African native affairs, to consider in general terms some of the factors both moral and political to which racial problems give rise all the world over, and to inquire what bearing they have on the future of the British peoples.

The difficulty, of course, is not peculiar to the British Empire: the political and economic awakening of Asia is a world-problem and recognised as such. Nevertheless it is the British Empire, with its population of 60 million whites and 370 million black and coloured, upon which, as the greatest individual arbiter of the destinies of weaker races and with its unique tradition in government, the pressure of this question will

primarily rest. Administration all over the world is being challenged by this new force. The fact of Indian unrest has penetrated even to the notice of the man in the street : the Indian demand for participation in government challenges the basis of our rule in the greatest of our Dependencies. The British public is pained and surprised that the native Egyptian who has prospered so amazingly under our guidance shows so little gratitude for the benefits conferred upon him. Japan has taken its place among the world Powers, and consolidated that position by striking victories over one of the greatest of European nations. And Japan as a world Power now questions the right of the United States or any other Government to subject her citizens to rigorous restrictions merely on the ground of colour. The awakening of China is fraught with possibilities so great that the mind halts and stumbles at their very contemplation. All over the world this unrest is stirring, all over the world we hear the first notes of challenge struck as regards that inherent right of the white man to rule which has become the commonplace of government. The black and yellow and coffee-coloured races are arriving : the earth, in Sir Valentine Chirol's phrase, is ceasing to be the inalienable inheritance of the white man : the pre-eminent dominion of the European, if not shaken, at least and for the first time is questioned.

How are we preparing ourselves to meet this new demand for a fuller life from races who hitherto have sat in darkness ? Meet it in some form or another we must if these new circumstances are to evolve without chaos and bloodshed. From what new focus does this question compel us to regard the dreary spectacle of European Powers armed to the teeth and ready to fly

at one another's throats like dogs ? May not a greater Armageddon than any at present contemplated lie behind these suicidal jealousies of nations who, whatever their rivalries, nevertheless are sharers of certain common traditions and methods in civilisation ? In the more immediate sphere of practical administration, what is to be the attitude of a great governing white race to the aspirations of alien races who have absorbed a measure of Western education, culture, and political ideas, and now in the name of democracy begin to speak of equal rights in lands occupied and conquered by Europeans of which they are the original inhabitants ? How will democracy discriminate between the political capacities of the educated native and those of the degraded white man ? Can tests be applied with any sort of logic or fairness to the one which do not apply to the other ? If so, what tests are they to be ? In countries where the population is predominantly coloured, what will be the consequences of vesting political power in the hands of a race but recently emerged from barbarism ? Do any first principles exist which may guide the twentieth century in this great task of adjustment between Europeans and native races—a task likely to be so peculiarly its own ? If so, what are they, and where should they be sought ? As for the economic questions which are springing into being alongside the political ones, they raise issues no less vast and serious. What is to be the result on white capital and labour of the competition of skilled and efficient coloured men whose standards of life and wages are far below that of the European ? What readjustments may not all this entail in the sphere of industry, even admitting that a rise in economic standard invariably accompanies a rise in economic efficiency ?

These are but a few of the questions which crowd thick and fast, and they are not easy to answer. Obviously I have not the smallest pretension to offer solutions for difficulties which have baffled the wisest minds yet brought to bear on them. But such public opinion as exists upon native questions is apt to be so confused that it may not be wholly unprofitable to examine the direction in which minds, both wise and reckless, are moving, and the various schools of thought springing up by the way.

We are confronted at the outset of this inquiry with a preliminary difficulty dogging the whole subject, namely the appalling atmosphere of prejudice with which its very discussion is surrounded. Racial questions, colour questions, raise antipathies and violences of a character unknown in other spheres. It is useless to condemn this fact or to argue about it: racial antipathies have their roots apparently in some of the deepest instincts which lie embedded in human nature, and we have to accept their existence as much as the existence of other primary passions. Further, British public opinion, which condemns such antipathies, is in the main the creation of men and women who have never lived side by side with a coloured race and cannot appreciate the many difficulties to which it gives rise. Ignorant good-will on the subject abounds, and proves excessively irritating to those with less philanthropic instinct but more sound knowledge. Racial aversion may seem most illiberal in London: it is perfectly comprehensible in Johannesburg. Instinctive racial aversion may, and does, seize on kind and humane people, and this instinctive aversion must be experienced to be realised—it is incapable of translation into words. But here at once a gulf arises between opinion

at home and abroad : between those with and without practical experience of tropical and sub-tropical life. The Englishman is apt to think the Colonial point of view hard and unfair, the Colonial retorts by calling the Englishman a sentimentalist and a fool, and warns him sharply to keep his hands off this particular galley. Here, therefore, at the outset we find the first complication in one of those unreasoning instincts which philosophers may deprecate but no amount of argument will explain away. Nevertheless, both good will and practical knowledge must go together if we are to avoid a complete deadlock in our relations with the coloured races.

The problem, broadly speaking, resolves itself into three aspects, moral, political, and economic. It is not, I think, too much to claim that the right political and economic adjustment which we are seeking can only spring from a right moral view of the whole relationship involved. Democracy, as I have already remarked, finds that it is running up against some very awkward contradictions as regards the political status of coloured races. Theory and practice are coming more and more into collision. Is democracy capable of such adaptations and developments as will meet these new needs ? Much will obviously depend on the view we take of democracy. If one man one vote and universal franchise are to be regarded as the last word in free institutions, a word beyond which nothing can go, then the outlook is obscure indeed. But we should, I think, at the threshold distinguish between adherence to the spirit of freedom and free institutions, and rigid adherence to any one form or forms of government through which such spirit of freedom has expressed itself. We are apt to regard a ballot box as the symbol of democracy, but we may be called upon to go behind that symbol

to the verity for which it stands—a free chance for every civilised individual. For, as Arnold Toynbee says finely :

Democracy is sudden like the sea and grows dark with storms and sweeps away many precious things, but like the sea it reflects the light of the wide heavens and cleanses the shores of human life.

If and when the spirit of freedom and the spirit of sympathy are real and active forces in the relations of the white man with the black, then we may, when dealing with the latter, be able safely to depart from the letter of democratic forms evolved to suit the needs of other racial conditions and other standards of civilisation. If the point of view towards the black and coloured man is autocratic and repressive, democratic ideals necessarily break down in grotesque and humiliating confusion. If the point of view is fair, generous, and constructive, then we may hope, however great the difficulties, that the larger principles from which any worthy democracy springs will guide us to the evolution of new forms and new expressions of liberty fitted to the needs of these unprecedented circumstances. On both sides two great principles must be accepted at the start if any sort of wise adjustment is to be made as regards the political relations of black and white. The white man must not erect colour *per se* for all time as an absolute barrier against the acquirement of the rights of citizenship. The black man must recognise no less frankly that he cannot claim equal privileges as a right in a civilisation to whose growth he has contributed nothing. Those privileges may be won by him and become the hall-mark of his own progress. But thoughtful members of the black races, if they are wise, will recognise the limitations of their own people,

and waive the irritating abstract claim to equality which has no existence in fact and only serves to confuse and exasperate discussion.

We must remember that in many respects the ancient adage of history repeating itself has to a large extent broken down. It is the unprecedented character of the difficulties of the twentieth century which renders their handling a task of so much perplexity. History can show no parallel to many of our present circumstances ; the experience of the past cannot be drawn upon, for instance, in the particular case which we are considering. The development of communication, that essential product of the last century, has revolutionised all values. From the Christian era till the early decades of the nineteenth century nations and peoples remained at much the same distances one from another, distances presenting great physical obstacles only to be solved by the few. Now the world has shrunk to the dimensions of a parish. The morning happenings of London are the evening gossip of Calcutta. Hence a movement, a ferment among native peoples unknown before. Again, popular education, as applied to the citizens of vast world States, has resulted in the diffusion of knowledge, which has led to the creation of polities undreamt of even by those puissant Greek minds to whom we owe the existence of political science. To a situation already sufficiently complex the question of a coloured democracy is now added—the question of native races keen to absorb European civilisation and European education, and to take their place among European systems of government. The issue must be faced with courage and with clear vision. Here, if anywhere, the old mischievous habit of muddling through is calculated to work disaster. We must seek to evolve a sound

policy resting on sound principles—principles which cannot be jerrymandered at every turn to suit the white man's convenience at the expense of the black man's legitimate rights. We cannot be democrats at one moment and at the next tear all our principles to ribbons because certain situations and circumstances happen to inconvenience our own prerogatives. The example of the American Commonwealth provides in this respect many lessons of what to avoid. The trials and difficulties through which the Southern States have passed are of no small value to the student of racial questions, and the moral is writ large for those who care to read it. Mr. Bryce has reviewed the whole position with great judgment in his new edition of 'The American Commonwealth,' a work to which I shall have occasion to refer more than once in the following pages.

The colour problem in the United States is not on all fours with the colour problem in South Africa. It is more limited in area, it is of older growth, it has been more violent and acute in its practical manifestations. The evil heritage of a slave tradition has embittered the relations of races to a degree mercifully unknown in South Africa. Those relations were further, and naturally, exasperated by the administrative follies which followed the close of the Southern war. It seems incredible that the politicians of the North should have thrust manhood suffrage and full political rights without discrimination of any kind on a mass of emancipated savages, for the majority of whom, as Mr. Bryce remarks, the highest form of pleasure prior to the possession of these privileges had been to caper to the strains of a banjo. Experiments in government so suicidal were bound to issue in the violences and injustices which unhappily have been too common in the

later history of the Southern States. The South felt bitterly that it had been sold—sold, not in pursuance of doctrines of natural rights, but in order to gratify a spirit of personal revenge on the part of hostile Northern statesmen. We may safely affirm that the racial antipathies of the present are the product less of the emancipation of the slaves and the sufferings of the war, than of the orgy of misgovernment which followed the peace. A white race handed over to the mercy of a majority of savages, armed with votes and exploited by the basest type of white political adventurer, will make good its position, and safeguard its integrity, by fair means or foul. To this end the South, crippled and humiliated, applied its mind and applied it successfully. By one device after another the American negro has been practically stripped of all his theoretical political privileges. Mr. Bryce estimates that only ten per cent. of qualified negro voters exercise that privilege to-day. The present situation is less acute, for the white predominance is again unchallenged. It is, however, impossible to calculate the evils which have beset the whole racial problem in the United States, thanks to the grotesque application of democratic principles *en bloc* to a vast and bewildered slave class, the large majority of whom had not learnt the alphabet of civilisation. Those who have suffered most from this fatuous mishandling are of course the negroes themselves. The bitter spirit created by such blunders has made the evolution of a sound and wise policy, recognising the due rights of the negro as man and as citizen, infinitely more difficult than under happier circumstances it might have been. Even so, friends among the white race have been reared up to the American negro and a school of thought, both sensible and humane, is concerning itself

more and more with certain fundamental principles which spring from his presence in the commonweal. In his admirable work 'The Basis of Ascendancy' Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy has examined the moral as well as political factors arising from the juxtaposition of black and white in a spirit as remarkable for its good sense as for its humanity. Like every writer who has devoted serious thought to the question, Mr. Murphy sees that the choice for the white man lies between a policy of repression and a policy of construction. He rejects the former not only because morally it is unsound, but even if conscience could be cheated, policies of repression stand condemned on practical grounds—they won't work.

Mr. Murphy examines in considerable detail the various elements which go to compose the present situation—the primitive factor of exploitation, naked and unashamed, usually the first point of contact between the white man and the black; the impulse of race aggression and race self-protection; the integrating force of opportunity; the disintegrating force of despair; the power of social reactions; the inadequacy of repression. His earnest and brilliant study concludes with an analysis of the true basis of ascendancy resting on morality not brute force, in a state which has for its aim 'for the stronger race so to dwell with the weaker as to uphold a common state upon the basis of the common welfare and expressive of the common happiness.'

Mr. Murphy's volume, though it deals with American conditions, should be in the hands of every responsible South African politician, for his views are not a little pertinent to kindred difficulties in South Africa. His dispassionate survey should prove a valuable corrective to a certain harsh carelessness too common among the

thoughtless. The point of view is that not of a sentimental negrophilism but of a wise and constructive statesmanship. Every danger, every drawback, every limitation of the weaker race is weighed and balanced and duly reckoned with. No wholesale theory of political equality and political rights is suggested between units of such varying capacity. Negrophilism does not mean cheap sentiment about natives or an ignoring of obvious facts. It means at bottom the defence of some of the most sacred principles of justice and right on which society rests. Where Mr. Murphy points the way is in his insistence that a generous attitude and a high morality are the first and the essential conditions for the solution of the practical problems presented. Only in an atmosphere so created, an atmosphere removed from racial hatred, fear and harshness can the discussion of ways and means become profitable. The practical aspect of the negro problem in the Southern States differs from that of the native question in South Africa. But the first principles underlying both are the same, and the moral issues raised are identical. The school of repression and the school of construction exist in South Africa as elsewhere. There are just and honourable men among the former and not a few foolish enthusiasts among the latter. In the main, however, repression, like all policies of negation, has nothing to offer but a short view culminating in chaos ; construction not only looks ahead but shows guiding posts along the way.

I have no wish to dwell on the painful by-products which have marked the conduct of extreme adherents to what is tersely known as 'the damned nigger' policy. Such policies unchecked by a vigorous public opinion are apt to express themselves in the labour

terms of the Congo and the Putumayo—horrors which bring home to a scandalised world the latent potentialities of ape and tiger in members of even highly developed races when organised greed comes face to face with disorganised weakness. The spirit of oppression lies terribly near the surface in each one of us ; and in the great spaces of semi-desert lands, where the checks of civilisation are few and feeble, white manhood has to its shame been capable of excesses which put the orgies of even classical shambles to the blush. This potentiality of white civilisation to break down when confronted with the stupidity and impotence of a weaker race is one of the dismal facts which has to be reckoned with in a consideration of the whole question. The stupidity and powers of irritation of which a native is capable can at times be past belief. Unless therefore the moral factors on which I am insisting are kept steadily to the fore in the relationship of the white man with the black, harshness and injustice are bound to arise. These are the extreme cases ; and I do not suggest for a moment that they would be condoned by many men who nevertheless support what is known as a vigorous native policy. A good deal of muddled thinking goes to make up this point of view in men, who, in other relations of life, are just and humane. They maintain that the native is a hopelessly weak and inferior being, possessing certain useful qualities which cause him to be regarded benevolently by the white man so long as he remains a docile worker contributing by his labour to the white man's wealth. Education, so this theory runs, corrupts and demoralises him, he becomes uppish and saucy, a nuisance to himself and a peril to the community. Education is therefore condemned as at variance with the Christian virtue of humility, on which great store is

set. 'The dignity of labour' is another fine phrase which crops up at every turn. This is the peculiar ladder of merit up which the native is urged to swarm—for the benefit of his white employer. The doctrine of the dignity of native labour, expounded with force and fervour by a certain type of lazy white who has never done an honest day's work in his life, is one of the comedies of South Africa, the humour of which is not always recognised by the principal actors. Keep the native in his place and teach him how to work. Give him just sufficient training to make him useful to the white man, but never allow him to acquire such industrial skill as will make him a competitor in the higher ranks of labour; treat him justly, let him play at self-government if he so wishes in his own native areas, but deny him all political rights or indeed the power of qualifying for them in the wider corporate life of the land, and all will be well both for black and white. Follow this plan and the native, unharassed by the restless gadfly education opening out new and unnecessary vistas of life, social, political and economic, will continue in his cheerful and convenient ignorance; a good creature to be kindly treated, kindly regarded under a system which safeguards and recognises his many faithful qualities.

Such is the theory, and in the earlier stages of the contact between black and white it does not work amiss. I need not labour its complete incompatibility with any theory of democracy or the impossibility of reconciling such a doctrine with the spirit of free institutions. But the theory breaks down inevitably as time goes on—breaks down in hopeless confusion. For the fatal moral flaw in this point of view (which is only that of the better side of slavery expressed in modern terms)

is that we cannot institute what is practically a system of moral degradation for one race and not be degraded ourselves in the process. We cannot destroy, as we are bound to destroy by our presence, the whole framework of existence for the native and offer him in return nothing but the dregs and the lees of our civilisation. So to act is in the long run to destroy ourselves. We cannot drag the native for our own purposes of exploitation into the orbit of all that is sordid in modern industrialism and city life and deny to him with the same breath any power or opportunity to qualify for the prizes of our civilisation. For the fundamental paradox involved by the difficult relationship, and one never grasped by thoughtless adherents of the schools of repression, is that the penalty of moral exploitation is exacted primarily from the exploiters not the exploited. A great governing race can only hope to remain great by rigid adherence to the most lofty ideals of justice and rectitude, especially when dealing with weak and helpless peoples. To barter difficult ideals for easy gains, to take moral short cuts which will facilitate present policies and smooth the path for log-rolling sections, to base ascendancy on principles of repression and fear rather than on generous wisdom and a far-sighted rectitude—so to act is fatally easy, a primrose path of dalliance along which governments may loiter, but in the end it spells disaster—disaster more irrevocable for the rulers than the ruled.

What, then, is the alternative—what better plan can the school of construction put forward? Can adherents of that school hope to offer any successful solution for difficulties and anomalies so great as those which beset the path of native administration? For solutions the time is as yet scarcely ripe; we are still concerned

with the preliminary task of the creation of a right atmosphere and right point of view from which solutions may be viewed. But out of the chaos one great principle, one test fair to black and white, emerges : the test of civilisation. Are the governing white races prepared to accept and abide by that test—a genuine test be it noted, not one concerned with a little faulty dictation and bad grammar—in their relations with the coloured peoples ? Are they prepared to give individual natives who can qualify under that test a place in the sun ? If not, on what coherent principle is the government of the State to be carried on ? We cannot profess with one breath to worship freedom and democracy and talk eloquently of manhood suffrage and one vote one value, and with the next support policies rooted in suspicion and fear. Let us at least free our minds from cant. If the spirit of freedom and of free institutions is to be put on the scrap-heap in our relations with black and coloured races, let the fact be recognised honestly and squarely. The policy of repression, however, is always a policy of despair, and it is our business to apply our minds with hope and courage to a more constructive point of view. The difficulties of life provide it not only with discipline, but interest ; and however great the magnitude of our task, it may be that its difficulty will serve to temper and keep fine the spirit of a great race peculiarly subject at this period of its history to the demoralising influences of wealth and luxury. The Pax Britannica has not been built up on repression and harshness. We go back on the genius of our whole race when we trifle with the possibility of crushing under foot any sort of new national or racial consciousness that our own just government has called into being. From the great principles of liberty and

civilisation the Empire cannot deviate without signing its own death warrant.

The test of civilisation applied in the spirit of liberty, will this give us a basis for the new terms we are seeking? Does it offer more hopeful solutions than the old crude policies of repression? I am well aware that the right of an English traveller to have views on native affairs at all is challenged in many South African quarters. 'You English people know nothing about it; don't come here trying to thrust your Exeter Hall views on us; this is our business not yours'—such is the forcible warning conveyed to one on a good many occasions. Let it be admitted at once that, when a certain type of English member of Parliament lets himself loose in the House of Commons on native questions, his ignorance of the subject-matter he is handling is apt to be so colossal that it is not surprising that such criticism infuriates rather than edifies the Colonial. But this same humanitarian spirit in England stands for great and honourable principles in government and has been the ægis of protection flung for generations over the subject races in their weakness and impotence. Those principles are not affected by the foolishness of individuals, neither does such foolishness alter the fact of the wider responsibility involved. Great Britain is a world Power, and the British democracy, whether or not conscious of the fact, is at this moment the final arbiter of the destinies of millions and tens of millions of black and coloured men in different parts of the globe. The question is after all, very much our business, for the Mother Country has not only to deal directly with the native problems of the Crown Colonies and Dependencies, but to hold the scales between the warring claims which at times arise

between such dependencies and one of the self-governing Dominions—witness the recent trouble between the Indian Government and the Union Government over the Asiatic question. To treat native affairs as a special overseas preserve, off which all English people are to be warned, is an absurdity in view of the very practical responsibility England has to bear in this matter. In South Africa itself it would be difficult to affirm that the Protectorates under direct Imperial control are any less well off than the native areas under the Union Government; indeed the unregenerate have been heard to whisper that administrative efficiency is far greater in the one case than in the other. The Protectorates in time are bound to pass under Dominion control, but the prospect does not excite any particular enthusiasm in the districts concerned, nor are they in any hurry to hasten forward the process of absorption. The more dispassionate temper of the Imperial Government is a very sensible gain to the natives, a point which calls for careful attention whenever the handing over of the Protectorates takes place. Secondly, this test of civilisation, this more liberal policy advocated, is not the product of Exeter Hall alone, but is the policy to which large numbers of thoughtful men with life-long experience of native questions give their adherence.

What is known as a liberal policy is apt to excite considerable fears among men who are perplexed and confounded by the present situation and are genuinely of opinion that, unless restrictive measures are set on foot and the concerns of the two races kept apart, both will suffer. On the other hand, a more liberal school of thought is growing up in South Africa, as it has grown up in the United States. An important and courageous speech, made by Lord Selborne

before the University of the Cape of Good Hope in February 1909, threw certain aspects of the native question in a very arresting manner before public opinion in South Africa. Lord Selborne, in his examination, covered the whole ground of the policy of repression, and his speech was a noble plea to South Africa to disregard such a policy and adopt a more generous and constructive attitude towards the black man. The main question which he propounded to his audience—a question commonly shirked by adherents of the school of repression—was whether the white man was prepared arbitrarily to arrest the native's development or in any case to leave him severely alone to work out his own salvation as best he might. Failing any such policy, the preposterous character of which is self-evident, Lord Selborne pointed out with inexorable logic that the only alternative was to bring methods of wise and rational self-development within reach of the Bantu peoples. Such a pronouncement from an administrator of Lord Selborne's position and experience is a very welcome contribution to a difficult question, and his speech, despite the criticism it roused in South Africa, sets a standard for which right-thinking men can only be grateful. Is there any reason to fear that a liberal native policy, if conducted on right lines, would create peril for the Europeans? An answer to that question must be attempted in the following chapters.

CHAPTER XV

BLACK AND WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The great problems of experience are never solved in any mathematical or final sense. They are solved only in the sense that life becomes adjusted to them, or in the sense that their conflicting or complementary elements find a working adjustment to one another, an adjustment consistent in larger and larger measure with wisdom, right and happiness; but always coincident with the possibility of misconception and with recurrent periods of acute antagonism. The issues of racial cleavage, like the issues of labour and capital, or of science and religion, yield to no precise formulas; they are issues of life, persistent and irreducible. And yet they are subject to approximate adjustments, increasingly righteous, intelligent, and effective.

EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY.

When I hear a traveller dogmatising about the character of the native—how he loves being beaten, despises those that are kind to him, admires those that oppress him—I say to myself that though I have no idea what kind of man the native may be, I am sure he is not this kind of man. Never accept from anyone an account of a man which inverts human nature.

J. A. SPENDER.

ACCORDING to the Census of 1911 the total population of the Union of South Africa is returned as 5,973,394. This total is composed of 1,276,242 whites, 4,019,006 natives, and 678,146 coloured persons. South of the Zambesi there are in addition in Southern Rhodesia 750,000 natives and about 24,000 whites, and another 500,000 natives in round figures must be added for Basutoland, Swaziland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorates. Separated from the British possessions by merely a geographical line is Portuguese East

Africa, whose native population north and south of the Zambesi is estimated at about 2,000,000, a factor which must not be 'disregarded in any general review of the incidence of population.

The political situation created by this mixed population is of a unique kind. In the United States, to whose racial difficulties I have referred in the last chapter, the negroes number under 9,000,000, a far larger total than the South African natives. On the face of it, therefore, the disproportion of the white population is less serious in South Africa than in the United States. It must be remembered, however, that the American colour problem is confined to the Southern States, and that the black majority in those States, averaging more than two to one, is counteracted by the overwhelming preponderance of the white population throughout the rest of the continent. In Africa, on the other hand, the general character of the continent is no less overwhelmingly black. There are no large white reserves as in the case of America, which may be relied upon to redress a coloured majority in any given locality. The total coloured population of the African continent—north, south, east, and west—may roughly be estimated at somewhere about 140,000,000. The white population is between 2,000,000 and 2,250,000. These are figures of which the significance should not be overlooked.

The large majority of natives south of the Zambesi are still living in a more or less primitive state, but everywhere the old order is breaking down and a great and growing minority of educated Kafirs are emerging day by day and producing situations of the most disconcerting kinds. The black races are not only in a majority, but their relative increase in numbers is

greater than that of the whites. The problem, therefore, does not show any signs of sorting itself by the ejection of one race by the other. Now South Africa, like many young countries, is busy with the practical concerns of her daily bread and butter, and, generally speaking, each man who considers this question at all is apt to consider it from the partial point of view of the particular manner in which the native has crossed his own path. The missionary, the trader, the artisan, the politician, all view the native from very different sides. Hence a variety of scrappy, incomplete, incoordinated ideas, often mutually contradictory and self-destructive, which serve to add to the general confusion of public opinion. Practical men are ever prone to scoff at schools of abstract thinkers, yet it is impossible to travel through South Africa to-day and listen to the chaotic views and opinions expressed about native affairs, without realising that it is precisely 'pure thought' of which the country stands in need if this chaos is to be reduced to some sort of order.

In the first place, to what degree is South Africa a white man's country at all? Here is a question more easy to propound than to answer. Nevertheless the issues it raises are fundamental. How far, for instance, do climatic conditions support the view taken by the white labour party in South Africa which aims at the spread of European immigration for industrial purposes? Questions of climate and race go hand in hand, and obviously can never be separated. The bulk of the territories comprised by the Union and by Rhodesia lies, as is well known, in sub-tropical latitudes. Johannesburg, for instance, is situated as many degrees south of the equator as Cawnpore is to the north. It is only the curious geological accident of a central

plateau, 3000 to 5000 feet or more in altitude extending over the whole interior of the sub-continent, which renders the country habitable on a permanent basis by white men. In this climate European children can thrive and grow up, for it is the child, not the adult, which determines what is or is not a white man's country. I am inclined even so to make certain reservations as to the effect of the altitude on highly-strung or nervous natures. The Dutch have certainly acclimatised themselves thoroughly, and become genuine men and women of the soil. More primitive by temperament, and of a type less highly evolved than the British, their powers of adaptation are perhaps greater. But there can be no question that after a time what has been called the irritation of Africa is apt to seize on more highly developed Anglo-Saxons who live permanently on the high veld. People's nerves easily get jangled and out of tune ; the sense of proportion vanishes, and a visit home becomes almost a crying need, not so much through bodily illness as through a curious mental and spiritual *malaise* perhaps induced by the great silences and the great spaces. Half of British-born South Africa seems always away in Europe, a fact realised by the stranger carrying letters of introduction. Naturally this sort of climatic pressure varies in different parts of the country, and in the southern portions of Cape Colony is less sensible than elsewhere. Some people, again, are much less conscious of its influence than others ; and it in no degree affects a passionate sense of attachment for the soil and the real feeling of homeland for it.

At the same time, if the white man can establish himself on a permanent and flourishing basis in South Africa, we must not forget that a strong aboriginal

race is also installed there on a basis equally flourishing and permanent; also that the aboriginal race has preponderating numbers on its side. The Bantu peoples are strong and virile; unlike Maories, Indians, or the primitive inhabitants of Australia, they have not disappeared before the encroaching touch of European conquerors. British rule, which has checked the old ravages of war, pestilence, and famine, has ensured conditions of peace and protection under which the numbers of the black race tend to increase more rapidly than those of the whites. Whether or not as time goes on this numerical preponderance of the Bantu races will be maintained is an open question. Certain people argue that the claim for equal rights by the native implies the disappearance of the special protection he receives at present from the perils of free contact with the lower forms of our civilisation. Liberty to acquire liquor without restraints of any kind would undoubtedly result in the wiping out of large numbers of black men. But apart from any such policy, which is unthinkable not only morally but in the interests of public safety and order, the native birth-rate has not been under review for sufficiently long a period to afford the basis of much prophecy for the future. To turn again to America. In the Southern States there has been of late a distinct check to that increase of the negro population which at one time caused so much alarm among the whites. Mr. Bryce points out that this alarm has now vanished. The negroes, he writes, 'show in each census a smaller percentage not only of the whole population of the Union but even of the former Slave States. In 1900 the percentage of negroes to the whole population of the United States was 11·6; in 1880 it was 13·1.' Whether or not the same results

may after a time become apparent in South Africa we cannot at present say, but that all weaker races have difficulty in maintaining themselves in the presence of a strong one is an established fact, and causes which have checked the increase of the negroes in America may operate similarly in South Africa.

The status of the South African native cannot be summarised in a phrase. That status is as varying and as complex as the problem itself. It includes the raw blanket Kafir, on the one hand, steeped in savagery, witchcraft, and polygamy, and, on the other, the educated product of higher-grade schools and universities exempt from tribal law and living according to Christian and civilised standards. Between these two poles may be found an infinite variety of men representing every shade of civilisation from its lowest to its highest forms. And they live side by side with an alien white race, or rather races, to whose ideals the thoughtful natives seek almost pathetically to approximate their own—an operation which in the main is regarded with scant sympathy by the Europeans. I am speaking, of course, of the general tendencies of majorities, for the best friends of the Bantu peoples have always been found among a not inconsiderable minority of Europeans who have from the first recognised a special duty and obligation to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.

It should be added that few inconveniences would result from the existence of two races in very varying degrees of civilisation if Africa were a tropical dependency ruled on Crown Colony lines. But the white population is of course too numerous and too well established to admit of any such form of administration. Full responsible government exists, and so far

as the white races are concerned is the only possible form. It is the application of democratic principles, evolved, let it be remembered, by white peoples of a high degree of civilisation and applied successfully to white races long disciplined in the use of self-government, which involves difficulty and confusion when applied consistently to a country where black and white live side by side and the average black lags a long way behind the political capacity of the average white. Nevertheless the black man has arrived and is arriving daily ; for the moment, by ones and twos and in inconsiderable numbers. The circumstance causes much heart-burning, however, among British and Boers alike, who regard this incursion as the first drops of rain heralding a deluge. The native problem is rapidly passing from the old, relatively easy position of the good paternal government of a primitive by a dominant people. To-day we are confronted with that question of political adjustment of which I spoke in the last chapter as characteristic of this problem all over the world—adjustment between the white governing races and educated and semi-educated natives and coloured peoples ; men acutely conscious of their disabilities and passionately desirous of seeing the latter removed.

Some of the perplexities which beset the discussion of this most difficult question would be cleared away were it better realised how unique is the character presented by the South African polity. South Africa stands among the nations of the world for a novel and midway term in government ; a country neither wholly white nor wholly black, where democratic principles are installed but democracy itself has a knack of breaking down. The form of government is democratic, and yet we are forced to recognise that

in practice it becomes an oligarchy masquerading in that guise. The essence of democracy is a recognition of government by majorities, but this is a position which the million odd whites in South Africa would sharply repudiate as regards the five millions odd aboriginal inhabitants. The racial and climatic conditions stand apart, and to deal with them satisfactorily they will in turn exact new methods of government worked out on novel lines, involving, it may be, the surrender of many ancient shibboleths. The political conditions of South Africa have no parallel in any other part of the world, and they present problems unknown before in history. Hence the fuller need on which I am insisting of a greater recognition of the midway term in government presented by the country—of its novelty, of its difficulty, of the immense calls it makes on powers of wise and constructive statesmanship. The native is developing very definite aspirations as regards education and political rights, and we must glance at the present position he occupies in both respects.

The passionate desire among natives for education is one of the most striking features in South Africa to-day. From the Cape to the Zambesi, wherever I travelled, I was told the same tale—natives of all ages flocking to schools however inferior. Even in a country so recently brought within the influences of civilisation as Northern Rhodesia I heard that the native eagerness for education entirely outstripped any means or power of complying with it. The spectacle of old native men and women bending laboriously over pothooks and hangers side by side with the youngest piccanin from the location, is a strange and striking sign of the times, full of significance.

Much will turn on the attitude taken up by white men to this desire for education among Kafirs. It is one of the touchstones as between the school of repression and the school of construction. Education according to the former, as we have already seen, is supposed to unsettle the native, make him uppish, and generally unfit him for his natural position as a docile and willing worker. These arguments have a strangely familiar ring. We have heard them all in the past as applied to the education of the British working classes, and they have about as much value in the one case as in the other. The type of person who laments the over-education of the proletariat at home is no less shrill as to the dangers of flinging wide the portals of knowledge to the 'nigger.' The old fallacy that ignorance is the first condition of a desirable citizenship permeates the whole point of view of what is at bottom but a thoughtless class prejudice. One hears, not infrequently, the same principles of autocracy applied under a racial garb to the native, which the strong are apt to apply to the weak of any colour and in any clime. This fallacy of the steadying powers of ignorance is closely allied with another economic fallacy equally widespread in South Africa, that the weakness and degradation of the native are a source of strength to the European. Contentions more wide from the truth and from common experience it is difficult to imagine. Ignorance and degradation are powder mines in each and every state where they are to be found. To encourage or uphold them is to subvert the very conservatism they are expected to maintain. The desire of the native races in South Africa for self-improvement is one which in the long run can only prove of benefit

to the country and a steady influence on its development. Two courses are open in this matter to the Europeans. They may set their faces against the native desire for education and discourage such aspirations in every possible way. That attitude is doomed to failure. On the lowest grounds it is a foolish course to follow, since it cannot be pursued with any reasonable hopes of a satisfactory issue. The native is bent on education and will get it at any cost—get it in bad, inferior forms from his own semi-savage brothers or from American negroes if the white man holds aloof. Such an attitude leads to the explosion of the powder mine with a fuse of special violence. Or the white man may take a higher and better view of his responsibilities, may take hold of this great movement and give to it the best of his own proud heritage, thus guiding into wise and fruitful paths a force which, unguided and unhelpt by him, must work havoc in the land.

Native education is almost wholly in the hands of missionaries, who receive State aid for their schools. The native nowadays is not a negligible quantity in the community so far as taxation is concerned. It is calculated that he contributes in direct and indirect taxation about £2,000,000 annually to the revenues of the State. It is difficult to say what proportion of this sum is devoted to the benefit of the native himself, but it does not err on the side of liberality. The South African Native Races Committee, in their latest volume (1909), claim that in Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, Orange River Colony, and Rhodesia he is entitled to have more spent on him. The grants made to education are specially meagre, and in this doubtless reflect the widespread prejudice on the

subject of which I have spoken above. A prejudice equally rampant exists in many quarters against the efforts of the missionaries to fulfil a task which has been handled perfunctorily by governments. How little foundation exists for either prejudice is a fact thrown into prominent light by any study of the various official reports dealing with native affairs. There have been very foolish experiments both in educational and religious work. Missionaries are mere men and women like the rest of us. Though fired with a greater devotion and enthusiasm than the ruck, they are not divinely inspired vessels of wisdom. They have made mistakes in South Africa as elsewhere; wrong methods of work have frequently obtained in the past and form the ground-work for the cheap gibes readily repeated by the heedless and the prejudiced. But I have never heard the principle of missionary work attacked by anyone in South Africa who was familiar with the conditions of native races, though criticisms of method and procedure may be common. Few things in South Africa are more striking than the wisdom, patience, and liberality of view, generally speaking, shown about native affairs by men who have practically handled natives, as compared with the wild and violent suggestions which emanate from our old friend the man in the street. The testimony of the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1905—one of the most exhaustive inquiries ever conducted in South Africa as to the value of religious influence—is conclusive on this point:

For the moral improvement of the natives there is available no influence equal to that of religious belief [write the Commissioners]. The vague superstitions of the heathen are entirely unconnected

with any moral ideas, though upon sensuality, dishonesty, and other vices there have been always certain tribal restraints which, while not based upon abstract morality, have been real and, so far as they go, effective. These removed, civilisation, particularly in the larger towns, brings the native under the influence of a social system of which he too often sees and assimilates the worst side only. The Commission considers that the restraints of the law furnish an inadequate check upon this tendency towards demoralisation, and that no merely secular system of morality that might be applied would serve to raise the natives' ideals of conduct or to counteract the evil influences which have been alluded to, and is of opinion that hope for the elevation of the native races must depend mainly on their acceptance of Christian faith and morals.

The Commissioners in the above paragraph touch what is the point of departure as regards the relations of the two races—our destruction of the old tribal system with all that it held of good and evil, and the consequent obligation to substitute some standard in its place. It cannot be stated too emphatically that no evidence whatever is forthcoming in support of the widespread generalisation that Christianised and educated natives are, as a body, less trustworthy and more disreputable than their savage brothers. The testimony forthcoming from official reports is all the other way. The 1905 Commission examines the point as follows :

By admission to Christian households, and by the example of the uprightness and purity of many of those around them, a large number of natives have doubtless been brought under improving influences ; but to the Churches engaged in mission work must be given the greater measure of credit for placing systematically before the natives these higher standards of belief and conduct. It is true that the conduct of many converts to Christianity is not all that could be desired, and that the native Christian does not appear to escape at once and entirely from the besetting sins of his nature, but nevertheless the weight of evidence is in favour of the improved morality of the Christian section of the population, and to the effect that there

appears to be in the native mind no inherent incapacity to apprehend the truths of Christian teaching or to adopt Christian morals as a standard.

And again :

The Commission is of opinion that education has been beneficial to the natives of South Africa, and that its effect upon them has been to increase their capacity for usefulness and their earning power.

Strong recommendations follow for the promotion of education, and it is interesting to notice that the Commissioners speak no less emphatically of the distinct loss which in their opinion would result from the separation of secular native instruction from moral and religious influences. I must refer in a subsequent chapter to the Report of what is known as the Black Peril Commission, the latest inquiry which has been held in connection with native affairs ; but it is interesting to notice that this Report speaks with equal emphasis of the value of Christianity and education to the native races :

The evidence of Christian teaching and education on the character of natives is very strong [says the Report]. These unquestionably exercise an enormous influence for good. . . . In this evolution the Commission is convinced that the restraining and directing influence of the Christian religion and education, imparted on proper lines, are absolutely essential.

We may therefore set aside as wholly unproved and unjustifiable the assumption that the civilised native is necessarily a worse man than his savage brother. Unhappy indeed would have been the position of the native had he remained in that condition of idyllic separation from religious and educational influences contemplated by some good people, and left to struggle as best he might with the standards and example of

the labour tout, the petty trader, and the illicit wine seller. Can it be seriously maintained that the Kafir, thus abandoned to the corrupting sides of our civilisation, would prove a more desirable element in the State than when attempts are made to bring him under humanising influences? It is easy to abuse missions and missionaries—easy but essentially unfair. The admirable chapter on Missions and Education in Mr. Maurice Evans's valuable work 'Black and White in South-east Africa' should be studied widely on this point. Criticism might be more fairly devoted to the shortcomings of the State in its relation to the native races, than in harping on the mistakes of religious bodies who have given them of their best.

It will come as a surprise to many to learn that missionary effort is the only force which has yet in any direct way attempted the education and uplifting of the Bantu people over a large portion of South East Africa [writes Mr. Evans]. Governments have given grants in aid of the work only amounting in all to a niggardly percentage of the direct taxes paid by the natives, but there are no Government schools or a single institution in the whole country run solely by Government for the training of the natives in arts or industries.

It is commonly said the mission boy is untrustworthy and more of a scamp than he would have been, thanks to his smattering of Christianity. An inherent standard of rectitude is not high among natives, Christian or non-Christian, and no sensible person imagines that thievish tendencies are exorcised in a savage breast by learning a little catechism and a few hymns. There are good and bad specimens among both classes of natives—those who have and have not come under religious influences. But what education does in such circumstances when dealing with a rogue is to change the character of his villainy. The uneducated

Kafir scamp steals cattle and commits other agricultural small crimes which often pass unnoticed by the white community. The educated Kafir scamp goes in for forgery and other minor peculations which directly concern his European neighbours. The enormities of his conduct, therefore, are at once thrown into a prominent light, and the cry at once arises 'Look at the fruits of education.' Naturally there are backsliders among professing Christian natives. They are not peculiar to South Africa. Such backsliders exist among the respectable churchgoers clad in broad-cloth and top hats of our own land. Again, there is no evidence to prove the hasty generalisation that 'the nigger educated is the nigger spoilt,' so far as his economic value is concerned. I have quoted above the directly contrary opinion put on record by the 1905 Native Affairs Commission, and Mr. Maurice Evans, who deals at length with the question, produces further evidence in the same sense.

Much undoubtedly depends in missionary work on the character and individuality of the missionary. The personal factor is all-important in dealing with natives, for the Kafir, like most primitive men, has an unerring touch and discrimination as regards the European who is an 'Inkosi' and the one who is a 'Boss.' The Inkosi he will respect and serve faithfully and well; the Boss he will serve badly and cheat when possible. I shall have occasion to refer further on to this all-important question of the character and status of officials charged with native administration, but these considerations of personal character are as essential in the missionary field as in that of government. This is a call to service of the highest type, and we should give to it of our very best in training and capacity.

The higher the type of those who devote themselves to this work the simpler the task will be. The need is for men and women not only fired with that true sense of vocation without which the sacrifices involved by the life would be impossible, but men and women of the world in the best sense of the term, knowing its difficulties and temptations, and fortified for their difficult task with the broader point of view which comes from a wide experience of life. We are apt to give too much of sorrow and failure to the religious life ; to turn to it when other things fail. Whereas, perhaps, its failures spring from this very cause—that it has been treated as a second best and not dowered at the outset with fullness of life, strength, and purpose. Enthusiasm too, however great, is a dangerous force in this field unless directed by knowledge. A story which I heard during my travels of two young women at a mission station who, fresh from England and the athleticism of the modern girls' school, played football with the native boys and went out for picnics with them, is a good illustration of the grievous mistakes committed by the ignorant. Incidents of this kind create enormous prejudice, and, as is ever the case, the story of a blunder rings from province to province, whereas quiet devoted work carried on month by month and reclaiming little by little the spiritual deserts of its labours, remains unnoticed, unknown, uncommented on.

There is room for much diversity of opinion as regards the best methods of practical education and religion so far as natives are concerned, and the results which may be hoped from them. Though repetition grows wearisome, I must again insist that we must first establish a right point of view between the native and ourselves before we can adjust our practical relations

with him on any sound lines. It is but another application of the great image of seeking first the Kingdom of God to which when found the other things will be added. A broader sympathy, a greater generosity would avert many of those hasty criticisms and false prejudices which serve at present not a little to embitter and confuse the whole subject.

Great improvements are still necessary as regards the whole theory and practice of native education. Up to the present it has been conducted without consistency of any kind. The educational policy of the Cape has been a liberal one, and in this province systematic support has been given to native schools since 1841. In Natal the whole subject excites strong prejudice, and the educational policy of the province has been very unprogressive. Still worse is the condition in the Transvaal, where matters are in a hopelessly backward state and very little desire is forthcoming as to their improvement. Basutoland holds the blue ribbon for native education, and the efforts of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society in this State have met with remarkable success. It may well give pause to the thoughtless that in Basutoland, where educational and missionary work has been carried out with a thoroughness unknown in other parts of South Africa, this proud and independent native people are not only orderly and law-abiding, but prosperous and hard-working. As regards the character of the instruction given, there is a consensus of opinion that the present system is ill adapted to the needs of native children, being too bookish and too much modelled on the lines of white education. Simple technical training, simple agricultural training are very desirable, but such matters are not always easy to achieve. There are great

difficulties in combining an elementary school with a workshop. There is often a querulous demand for domestic training from people who lose sight of the fact that schools do not provide a series of kitchens, bedrooms, and dwelling rooms where domestic training can be applied practically. Technical training also is apt to rouse much jealousy among the more indigent whites to whom the creation of native masons, carpenters, and wheelwrights seems very undesirable. The whole development of native education is unquestionably hampered by the dead weight of indifference and suspicion with which the subject is regarded by the average European. Nevertheless the 'South African Natives' publication states that in 1909, 150,000 native and coloured children were receiving education throughout South Africa, and the numbers have probably received a substantial increase since that date.

Turning now to the existing political status of the South African natives, we find that their constitutional position varied considerably in different parts of the country before the war. Cape Colony had for years been honourably distinguished by its liberal and enlightened native policy—a policy, be it noted, which received the adherence and support of Mr. Rhodes, whose Glen Grey Act stands as a landmark in native self-government. Rhodes's speech in the Cape House of Assembly on the introduction of the Glen Grey Bill is a remarkable one, and lays down in blunt and homely language certain sound truths. As happened too frequently in his case, a lesser end of doubtful value coiled itself round his larger purpose to the detriment of the latter. The prejudice excited by the Labour Tax proposals of the Bill, which led to an outcry on the subject of forced labour, caused the value of

Rhodes's very great contribution to the principles of native self-government largely to be obscured. The Labour Tax proposals were a dead letter from the first, and have long since disappeared, but the system inaugurated by the Glen Grey Act in the Transkei has grown and flourished, and to-day provides the most hopeful and useful experiment yet instituted for the government of native areas. 'Rhodes was too able and saw too far ahead to believe in policies of repression,' said a well-known authority on native affairs to me one day. 'He was too shrewd not to see they couldn't work in the long run and that some other line must be tried.' And it is interesting to find that the test which Rhodes adopted was that of civilisation. 'Equal rights for all civilised men' was his famous axiom, and he gave no greater proof of his genius than by his adherence to a point of view far removed from that of the average South African. But though Rhodes was not in favour of depriving educated black men of votes when they had proved fitness for the franchise, he entirely disapproved of the wholesale grant of political privileges to natives after the manner of the negro enfranchisement in the United States. He recognised that a new situation had arisen and that it could not be dealt with by a stroke of the pen. 'It would be wise not to deal with the whole native question at once,' he remarks. 'The natives are children, and we ought to do something for the minds and the brains that the Almighty has given them. I do not believe they are different from ourselves.'

The opinions of a man like Cecil Rhodes are not lightly to be set aside in a question of this kind, the more so that he can scarcely be arraigned as a weak-kneed sentimentalist.

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In the short sentence I have just quoted, four propositions of great importance are laid down: first, that the native question cannot be dealt with all at once or in one way; secondly, that the natives are like children; thirdly, that they should be provided with education; fourthly, that fundamentally they are human beings with powers and capacities like other men. The intervening years between the introduction of the Glen Grey Act in 1894 and the situation to-day have only emphasised the importance of the points on which Rhodes's genius had already seized. South Africa could raise no better monument to his memory than the acceptance of his leadership and principles in this vital matter.

Cape Colony has been remarkable for the number of distinguished public men who have championed the rights of the natives from the days of Mr. Saul Solomon to our own times. Mr. Merriman, Mr. Sauer, Mr. Schreiner, among the latter-day South African statesmen, have been conspicuous in this field. This tradition reflects itself in the franchise regulations which obtained in the Cape Colony prior to Union, a mixed property and educational qualification irrespective of race or colour. The Cape system was, and is, sharply criticised by many South Africans who viewed with disfavour and disgust the growing power of the native vote in various electoral areas. The 1905 Native Affairs Commission examined this question and recognised its potential gravity; though, in view of the fact that in 1903 only 20,718 black and coloured men of a variety of races were qualified as voters in the Cape Colony out of a total of 135,168, the actual anxiety displayed was somewhat ahead of the facts. Cape Colony, however, is in a position to retort effectually

when taunted with her negrophilist policy. Kafir risings and rebellions have not troubled her peace for many years. She can point at least to the quiet and orderly behaviour of the natives within her area, and the conspicuous success of the administration established in the Transkei.

In Natal the situation has been far less satisfactory. The pressure of the native problem is far more considerable in this province than in any other part of South Africa, the blacks outnumbering the whites in a proportion of ten to one. Civil rights, as in Cape Colony, are the same for black and white, but the franchise regulations are drawn in such a way that all natives are practically excluded. Hence the Kafir does not exist as a political factor. The absence of any coherent policy in dealing with this vast body of black and coloured peoples has, however, led to much difficulty, confused thinking expressing itself in confused and unsatisfactory administration. Matters drifted on till in 1906 they drifted into rebellion, the causes of which are clear enough to any reader of that singularly candid and courageous document the Report of the Natal Native Affairs Commission for 1906-7. It is greatly to the honour of Natal that a body of Natalians should put on record with such frankness the grave shortcomings of their own administration, and it is to be hoped that the salutary changes recommended will prevent any recurrence of such unhappy circumstances as led to the last rebellion.

In the Transvaal and the Free State the old uncompromising attitude of the Boers to the natives still colours the whole electoral point of view. The Grondwet or Fundamental Law of the Transvaal repudiated all theory of equality between black and

white in emphatic terms, and excluded the native from all civil and religious rights. Civil rights, together with the power to buy land (a matter which has caused great heartburning), have been acquired by natives since the countries passed under British rule, but the franchise exclusion is still absolute. It is from the North that the demand for a 'vigorous' native policy makes itself heard to-day, a demand which collides sharply with the contrary opinion of the Cape Province. This thorny question of the native franchise was one of the greatest obstacles in the path of the Convention, and if less skilfully handled might have wrecked the whole task of Union. The sensible compromise was arrived at of leaving the existing electoral basis in each province for the present undisturbed, thus recognising the Cape principle of the civilised native voter without outraging the prejudices of the Transvaal and the Free State. The arrangement is avowedly a temporary one, but it may persist for a considerable period. The numbers of civilised natives in the Transvaal, Free State, and Natal who would be qualified under a property or educational test is very small. The hour for a popular demand for native votes in these provinces is not as yet, and so for the moment little practical injustice is experienced. South African public opinion on the point is as hopelessly divided as at the moment of the National Convention, and a difficulty which baffled the group of exceptionally able men who unified the land is not likely to prove soluble yet awhile by politicians of smaller capacity.

Meanwhile public opinion in South Africa is finding itself increasingly occupied with the demand for a native policy which will meet some of the exigencies of the actual situation. But in the first place, as already indicated

nearly twenty years ago by Mr. Rhodes, not one policy but half a dozen are required. The broad, final comprehensive policy for which some people clamour is an impossibility owing to the immense diversity of conditions and degrees of civilisation. No one formula, no one scheme, can deal with a situation so complex. The pressure of the native is making itself felt in various directions, and that pressure creates uneasiness and fear. He is beginning to emerge as a competitor—political, economic, even social. He is acquiring both property and education—is overflowing from his native reserves and buying land on individual tenure. Skilled coloured labour in the Cape Province has resulted in the sensible displacement in certain trades of the European worker. What has happened in the Cape is likely to extend in the immediate future over other parts of the country. And the European begins to ask in dismay where the process is to end or what may be the ultimate effect on the white minority of this great wave of ever-growing conscious black life which is attaining to such dimensions. How can the European safeguard his political and economic position, and still more his racial integrity? What chance has the white man of maintaining his footing if exposed to the free competition of these preponderating multitudes, whose standard of life is so low that the under-cutting of wages can be of a formidable character? It is not astonishing that many people feel that the situation calls for a drastic change and for drastic measures of segregation, political disqualification and the like, if South Africa is to remain in any sense a white man's land.

The industrial competition of the black and coloured man, to which I must return in detail in a subsequent chapter, is not the only point at present engaging the

anxious attention of the European. The purchase and tenure of land by natives are regarded as hardly less important and have been much to the fore of late in South African politics. The matter has given rise to considerable feeling. Under the new order natives have bought land and settled in localities where they were previously unknown, a circumstance which has caused indignation and disgust among the Boer farmers who have little taste for such neighbours. I was told in the Transvaal that in some districts certain tribes had bought up large tracts of land and formed themselves practically into limited companies in order to carry out the transaction. The growth of wealth among the natives is very striking, and many communities are exceedingly prosperous and well-to-do. The 1905 Native Affairs Commission devoted much attention to this question of land purchase by natives. It decided almost unanimously that in this respect it was necessary to safeguard the interests of Europeans in the country, and recommended that, in future, purchase of land by natives should be limited to certain areas to be defined by legislative enactment, and that purchase of land leading to communal or tribal occupation by natives should not be permitted. Colonel Stanford, one of the Natal Commissioners, dissented from this view and held that natives should not be subjected to restrictions from buying land for individual tenure. Colonel Stanford was of opinion that restrictions on native purchase of land should only be made in the event of such purchase leading to the extension of the tribal system, and that the acquisition by more advanced natives of vested individual interests in the land is a powerful incentive to loyalty and progress in 'civilisation. The tribal system through which

administration works in dealing with raw natives is bound up with so much that is inimical to progress and development that little by little it must make way for other methods, a fact widely if reluctantly recognised in South Africa. Restrictions, therefore, on land purchased for tribal purposes are quite desirable, but there seems no justification for imposing any sort of disability on the civilised native who desires to acquire land under individual tenure. The argument as to such men being undesirable neighbours is somewhat far-fetched. The very people who make this complaint acquiesce quite happily in whole families of semi-savage native labourers squatting on their farms for agricultural purposes. The respectable native who has bought his land and is living according to civilised standards cannot be a greater social peril than the blanket Kafir of whom no one complains so long as he is only a hired labourer. This is but another instance of the sort of sub-conscious jealousy to which the progress of the native gives rise, and its manifestations are not very happy.

Meanwhile, public opinion has been growing on the land question, and the matter has come within the province of the Union Parliament. A Squatters Bill was introduced by General Botha's Government in 1912 to deal with one aspect of the question which presents serious sides—the unregulated squatting of natives on unoccupied lands held by white men. The Bill was dropped, owing to pressure of other business; but during the session of 1913 a native Bill, introduced by Mr. Sauer, became law, prohibiting any further acquisition of land by natives pending an inquiry by a Commission who are to report as to the delimitation of separate areas for black and white settlement.

The object of the Bill is to separate as far as may be the interests of natives and Europeans and to define the areas in which both in future may legally own land.

It is difficult not to feel considerable misgivings as to the result of this legislation, put forward though it is ostensibly on behalf of both races. Theoretically the definition of separate areas for settlement is not undesirable, but practically everything will depend on the spirit in which such a rearrangement of land tenure is made. Unquestionably this measure opens wide the door to harshness and injustice as regards the native. The Bill provides that there is to be no removal of persons at present occupying land without the consent first of the Commission and then of the Houses of Parliament, and that suitable compensation in such event should be provided as well as land in place of that expropriated. But it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that such rearrangements may take place in a manner essentially unfair to the native, the good land being reserved for the white man and the native presented with the leavings. Both Mr. Merriman and Mr. Duncan drew attention during the debate to the tendency this Act must have to drive the native back into barbarism. As Mr. Duncan pointed out, it does little to limit the really dangerous points of social contact between the races which occur in the towns. Mr. Merriman spoke strongly in the same sense and confessed he voted for the measure 'with reluctance and apprehension.' The real hardship lies in the refusal to allow civilised natives to own land in non-native areas—a circumstance which must cause great resentment among them. Few things are more wounding to the native mind than the white man's apparent incapacity to discriminate between

a blanket Kafir and an educated black or coloured man. This Bill is in itself a proof of the hardening of policy against the native which the dominant influence from the Transvaal has unquestionably imported into Union affairs. The Dutch have never been remarkable for humanitarian principles in their relations with the native races. Livingstone's indictment of them in this respect will be remembered by all readers of his *Travels*. Their standpoint in the matter at the best is purely autocratic and personal, at the worst it can be very brutal. Of the broader aspects of the problem, to which we have referred in the last chapter, they know little and care less. But if this spirit is to grow and spread and is not checked by a very definite sense of political responsibility, the native policy of the Union is likely to proceed on lines which may give rise to considerable anxiety. It is to be hoped that the practical administration of this Bill on which everything depends may be conceived in the spirit of the Cape rather than that of the Transvaal.

From restriction on the rights of natives to purchase land to a further question of segregation for all purposes, political, economic, and social, is but a step and one which not unnaturally follows. Segregation—that is to say the definite separation for all purposes of the black and white races into areas specially reserved for them—is a policy prominently associated with the name of General Hertzog. It has won the support and approval of Mr. Maurice Evans, and a policy advocated by so able and sympathetic a champion of native rights cannot be dismissed without consideration. It is very difficult, however, to discover what exactly is meant by general segregation of this type; and even Mr. Evans, in the remarkable book to which I have

already referred, leaves us little wiser as to its practical application. It will hardly be denied that the demand for segregation has arisen thanks to the pressure of the black on the white in various localities, and that the white man is casting around to see how he can best be relieved of a competition so distasteful to him. It is a policy primarily put forward in the interests of the whites, and to that extent is sectional. In the first place, is a physical or merely an administrative separation of the black and white races proposed? As Mr. Patrick Duncan has inquired, is South Africa to be marked out as a chess-board in black and white squares, the natives on the black squares being confined to those squares for all social and economic purposes and not allowed to go beyond their limits for the purpose of selling the products of their own labour or of hiring themselves as labourers to the white man? The practical impossibility of such a proposal is self-evident—it would collapse of itself if attempted. Segregationists, it is true, point to the fact that the juxtaposition of natives and Europeans leads to the demoralisation of both, that race deterioration must follow if the process continues unchecked, and that natives and Europeans alike would benefit by a system which left each race free to develop its own life on lines adapted to such varying states of civilisation. Segregationists further claim (and here it must be admitted with truth) that in Basutoland, the Transkei, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, this policy is practically applied at present, and that the condition of the natives in these territories is eminently satisfactory. Further, the segregationist urges that when the native is happily settled with his flocks and herds in his own areas he will cease to be a menace to the white artisan as a

competitor in the skilled-labour market—another instance of that fear of uneasy competition which is not a little puzzling among the white South Africans.

In a speech at Pretoria on January 20, after his breach with General Botha, General Hertzog outlined to an expectant audience the policy of which the Union of South Africa had been robbed by his exclusion from the Cabinet. The performance was a disappointing one. The ex-Minister's vague and sketchy proposals on this occasion did nothing to advance South Africa's practical knowledge of the question. General Hertzog's main suggestion was the division of the Union into two areas—a native area from which Europeans should be excluded, and a European area from which natives should be excluded. Conscious, perhaps, of the enormous practical difficulties which beset any such proposal, the General hastily created a third area of a mixed character to meet the needs of the transition. Finally the whole proposals broke down at their most crucial point—the labour question; since General Hertzog, pressed by the practical difficulty which confronts all segregationists, admitted that, though the native's political and agrarian rights would be confined to the black area, yet he would be allowed to work both as a skilled and unskilled labourer in the European area. So far as the industrial contact, therefore, is concerned, segregation is given up as hopeless at the start.

It is difficult to understand how any group of men acquainted with the peculiar racial and economic conditions of South Africa can put forward this policy in all seriousness. Ideally the suggested separation of the races might be desirable, and Mr. Maurice Evans bases his case on moral grounds of a high order. But,

however ideal a point of view, it is useless to advance it unless some good reasons can be shown as to how the ideal may be translated into practice. Where, in the first place, is the land to come from where the natives may be segregated apart from the Europeans? The native question is in a large measure a land question, and the steady growth of population among the Kafirs is leading to overcrowding in all parts of the country. A good deal of grumbling may be heard already among Europeans about the reserves set aside for natives, and this feeling is reflected in the new Native Land Bill recently passed by the Union Parliament, at the provisions of which we have glanced. This question of native reserves may be regarded as one of the illusions of South Africa, for in view of the preponderating numbers of the black races, the areas reserved for them south of the Zambesi—namely 220,470 square miles out of a total area of 914,773 square miles—is certainly not an over-liberal one. A policy of segregation to be carried out with any sort of fairness to the natives would mean the setting aside for them of large new tracts of country. Any such proposal, however, is likely to raise a tumult among the European farmers, who, as we have seen, have already agitated successfully for restrictions on the powers of natives to buy land in different parts of the country. The new Land Commission, charged with the genial task of delimiting the black and white areas, possibly of removing native landowners from some localities and dispossessing white settlers from others, is a body which may well excite our sympathies. And the fatal flaw to which I have already referred—namely the power left to the native to sell his labour in the white areas—subjects him to all that is most corrupt-

ing in European intercourse, while depriving him at the same moment of the higher influences of the white man's civilisation. It is interesting to notice that Mr. Bryce states that similar theories of segregation have been put forward in the Southern States only to be dismissed as outside the range of practical politics. When it comes to the point, the native is too useful to be dispensed with as a labourer, and it is never found to be either convenient or possible to isolate him in districts apart from the rest of the country.

No : South Africa, difficult though the problem it has to face, must face it with more courage and generosity than is manifested by the policy of segregation, dogged as it is by the ugly attendants of repression and fear. Segregation of the Glen Grey type, viewed as a half-way house and as a training school where the native can learn to fit himself for a civilised existence, has valuable and useful elements. But he cannot permanently be thrust into a position of political and economic helotry. Not by an artificial separation of the races, but by a fuller recognition of their duties one to another and their common purpose in the land, we must seek for an adjustment of our difficulties. We must face the fact exacted by our own self-respect that all doors should remain open to the native capable of passing through them. The only test we can demand of him in the ultimate issue is the test of fitness. That test we have every right to exact and to make as rigorous as we choose. A sympathetic native policy does not mean an indiscriminate handing out of votes and political privileges to a race unfitted to use them. It does not imply a foolish assertion of equality between units so obviously unequal as the

black man and the white. It is, I must repeat, an attitude of mind which expresses itself in liberal experiments. Above all, it is an attitude of mind which bars no doors on purely racial lines. But it must be remembered no less on the other side that if a native is not to be denied political rights owing to the colour of his skin, neither can those rights be claimed by an uncivilised manhood. We are guardians of a great tradition in government and in civilisation, and it must not be sacrificed to doctrinaire formulas about the rights of men apart from the fitness of the latter. Hence the test of which I speak. The test, however, must be just and honourable, and once established we must be content to abide by its results. There are three special forms of contact—social, industrial, and political—between black and white which cause considerable anxiety in South Africa. They raise very important questions which call for detailed examination if we are to determine whether or not the test of civilisation can be applied to such contacts so as to rob them of some of their perils.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SOCIAL CONTACT

Human nature is not always the same. It slowly changes and is modified by higher ideals and wider and deeper conceptions of justice. Men have forgotten that although it is impossible to change the nature of a stone or rock, human nature is pliable, and pliable above all to nobler ideas and to a truer sense of justice.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE.

THE psychology of the Kafir is not easy to fathom. The mental processes of one race are always difficult if not incomprehensible to another. The particular gift any given race has to contribute to the sum total of human life and consciousness may be the one which brings it into most sharp collision with other types with whom it may be thrown for purposes of government. The strength of the one often proves to be the weakness of another, and *vice versa*. We need not go far afield, not indeed beyond the limits of the British Isles, to see how this principle baffles and confounds the relations of the English and the Irish. Obviously the margin of confusion increases as the types diverge more widely. It is a commonplace that the Europeans who have lived most closely and intimately with native races confess that the greater their knowledge the greater their ignorance of the inner meaning of the native mind. With Asiatics and Orientals, men who are the product of civilisations as great in their way as our own, but the evolution

of which has followed wholly different lines, the difficulty of mutual comprehension is enormously enhanced. Henri Bergson's illuminating theory about diverse lines of development is one which applies with much fitness to the problems of race. The Chinaman, the Indian, the Negro, are not reposing at the lower stages of Caucasian civilisation nor have they been shed by us on the upward path of our own development. They have journeyed along a different channel of the life process, are a product of a different form of the '*élan vital*.' It would be better if Europeans realised more fully that these racial questions involve problems less of superiority and inferiority than of difference. The practical difficulty, however, which arises is a serious one. Who will care to say that the high-caste Brahmin, trained in all the wisdom of the East, is a less admirable example of the life process than the harassed city bread-winner scrambling to the Stock Exchange by the morning train? For practical purposes of government, however, the harassed city bread-winner and his kind have arrived at a point of efficiency and capacity in certain directions to which the high-caste Brahmin is wholly alien. The Caucasian races by virtue not only of the great civilisations they have evolved, but by their practical successes in government, hold the field as regards the direction of human affairs and policies all over the world. And in this field the Anglo-Saxon race easily dominates the rest. The mould of government we have created is the one into which all other forms of political life find themselves forced so far as practical methods are concerned. A vigorous race, fired by the spirit both of commerce and adventure, we have spread over the globe imposing our civilisation and government on

alien peoples and alien lands : have imposed them so successfully that as these alien races are stirred by our proximity into fresh mental processes, the first desire of the small minority which assimilates European education is to approximate their forms of thought and government to our own. But the operation must, and does, involve a series of very ragged edges as regards the points of contact between the educated minority and the conquering majority, whereas it leaves the vast bulk of the undeveloped race-consciousness behind this fringe wholly untouched.

The negro has journeyed less far along the line of his own development than any other great race. His contribution to human consciousness is obviously much inferior to that of the Oriental. Unlike the Oriental he is not a finished product of his own type. Whether his development has been arrested, or whether it is still in the early stages of its evolution, who can say ? But in any case he has not arrived save in a limited sense. The fact that so far the native races of Africa have failed to come near the standard not only of Europe but of Asia is one which surely should comfort and sustain the nervous Europeans in South Africa who fear at every turn and corner that unless artificially protected they may succumb to Kafir competition in political and industrial life. The best answer to that fear is to remember that so far the results of negro civilisation are *nil*, indeed they have no civilisation at all to show. As Mr. Murphy points out, the negro has behind him no long history of spiritual adventure or social struggle ; has wrested neither a Magna Charta nor a Bill of Rights from the forces of tyranny. What progress individuals among them have made is purely due to the assimilation of European influences. Under

those influences the race may, of course, make a start and journey far. But when it comes to free competition in a fair field and no favour, the negro, product of a race which has of itself achieved nothing, can hardly hope to come out top in any struggle with those European races which have moulded the world to their own liking.

The mutual misunderstandings of classes are but too grave and frequent among men of the same nation. Obviously they must be still graver when units so diverse as the black man and the white are thrown together, and the comprehension each of the other's standpoint is necessarily so limited. Government, a difficult task at the best, is enormously complicated when profound differences of race, of mental processes, and of varying standards of civilisation have to be reconciled under a common rule. Hence the breakdown to which I have referred in a previous chapter of the forms of democracy when they come to be applied to conditions so different from those under which they were evolved. Hence the need to go behind those forms to the spirit from which they sprang, and through the inspiration of that spirit to work out the forms afresh with due regard to the new material and circumstances with which they are called upon to deal.

So far as the Bantu peoples are concerned the raw material of government is not of a high class intellectually. At the same time it is no less unreasonable to speak of the South African natives as wholly contemptible and worthless creatures. They have certain excellent natural qualities, some of which their European rulers could emulate with advantage. The aboriginal Kafir, uncorrupted by town life, is courteous, loyal, and obedient. He has a great sense of discipline, and

is very amenable to control, the product of the warlike tradition in which the manhood of the nation has been reared. The sense of family life is very strong among these people. They have the deepest attachment to home. The mine manager, the farmer, and the contractor have all too much practical experience of the curious *heimweh* from which the native labourers suffer. They are no less devoted to their children and are exceedingly kind to them; indeed, it is said that the babies and juveniles suffer not a little from the excessive petting and spoiling they receive. No society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has ever been necessary among the native races of South Africa. Such institutions apparently are the off-shoots of our own fine flower of civilisation. Native life has its other and darker sides, abounding in customs of the most degrading character which are revolting to the European moral sense. Their spiritual ideas also are of a meagre kind, though at a subsequent stage they become easy victims to religious emotionalism. I am but concerned to draw attention to the existence among many limitations of certain undeniable qualities, since it is always along the line of a person's good, not bad, points that progress must be sought.

It is, however, over this very question of progress that the schools of construction and repression join issue. To adherents of the latter it seems that disastrous consequences must follow if our deliberate policy is to be the free encouragement of the native in the fields we have won and developed. Adherents of the former school base their views not on sentimental negrophilism but on the belief that a liberal polity works out advantageously for the white man no less than for the black. It is the aim of this and the two following

chapters to try to arrive at some conclusions as to the effect of such a policy on certain questions which are of pressing importance and concern in South Africa to-day.

First as to points of social contact. Much is said, and said with truth, as to the demoralising effects of the presence of one race on the other ; Segregationists of the type of Mr. Maurice Evans base their views largely on this fact and point to the existence of the poor white and the half-caste as a proof of their argument. To which one can only reply that the poor white and the half-caste will never be eliminated in any state where one race for its own supposed advantage keeps the other in weakness and degradation. The very principle, or lack of principle, recoils on the head of the race which seeks to carry out any such purpose of moral exploitation. The half-caste and the poor white are the fruits of moral failure and they can only disappear before the influence of a higher moral consciousness among black and white alike.

Miscegenation is a side of colour questions which causes profound anxiety among thinking people in all countries where this problem exists. The anxiety is entirely natural and entirely right ; the problem itself, one of the greatest which beset a bi-racial community. Highly developed racial types are valuable assets and call for careful preservation ; and the evolution of a snuff-and-butter race, as it is brutally called at the Cape, can have nothing to commend it. The contrary point of view, however, exists. In his interesting and original work ' White Capital and Coloured Labour ' Sir Sidney Olivier definitely contemplates the principle of mixed unions, regarding the half-caste as the bridge across which the tendencies of separate races may meet to

the advantage in the long run of both. He does not adopt the usual view that the half-caste has necessarily the vices of both races and the virtues of neither; he does not regard him as racially more immoral in tendency than anyone else. Sir Sidney Olivier has been for many years a distinguished Colonial administrator in the West Indies and as Governor of Jamaica has had long and practical experience of the conditions of which he speaks. It is interesting to find that the unusual view which he advocates with much courage receives the adherence of Professor Royce of Harvard, who is also of opinion that we attach altogether too much importance to the differences of race and have exaggerated the degree of inherent separation between black and white. In a great and complicated question of this kind it is well to have all views expressed, however repugnant the doctrine of miscegenation may be to the overwhelming majority of white people. Sir Sidney Olivier writes as a Socialist, and Socialism with its universal creed has naturally no affection for racial divisions and the stereotyping of racial consciousness. But the very weakness of the Socialist creed may lie in its attempt to ignore the depths and persistence of this same racial consciousness, even among European peoples—a consciousness that strikes deep down into the roots of existence. Mr. Murphy, than whom no modern writer has treated the American colour problem with more insight and sympathy, entirely rejects the suggestion of miscegenation and treats the problem on directly opposite lines. As he points out with great force in 'The Basis of Ascendancy,' fusion between black and white occurs at the higher not the lower levels. There is an instinctive social segregation of highly developed racial groups. A cultured European

man or woman turns with horror from the very idea of marriage with a negro ; and whether or not the feeling is prejudice, it is one of the most deeply entrenched instincts in human nature, and may it always remain so. Sir Sidney Olivier himself is forced to recognise the practical difficulty of his own theory by the admission that the coloured race he contemplates should be born of white fathers and black mothers. To all of which it can only be replied that such offspring are the product of degradation, not love, and as such are the Ishmaels of humanity. The circumstances of such children can only move us to profound pity. As Mr. Murphy well points out, no half-caste child as yet has been born into the home of the stronger. The home is the starting-point of civilisation and the half-caste child has no home in the true sense of the word ; starts life unblessed and undowered by the greatest of all gifts—the mutual love, devotion and respect of its parents. Love, duty, mutual responsibility, the sacred claims of home—all this happy heritage of the white child it is denied. In their place stand the sinister spectres of shame, humiliation, and contempt. And the only way out of this great and pressing evil which arises wherever the lower strata of black and white are thrown together, as Mr. Murphy points out, is to increase the standard of civilisation and self-respect among the blacks, so that the higher race-consciousness developed among them will repudiate such unions for their womenkind as emphatically as they are repudiated by the higher race-consciousness of the whites. Increase the self-respect and education of native men and women alike ; encourage the native to add to his sense of home, already so strong, the standards of morality and purity with which the word ‘home’ is associated among worthy

Europeans ; develop a greater sense of the worth and dignity of womanhood ; teach him that the protection of that womanhood is the first duty of a self-respecting manhood—and miscegenation, though it may, and will, persist, in individual cases, will cease to be a peril to the two communities as a whole. Leave the native in his weakness and degradation ; treat him always as a chattel, the tool of baser needs and baser pleasures, and his servile qualities will in the end pull down the house of life about the shoulders of his white masters. Over and over again in this question we run up against the same old dangerous fallacy that the degradation of the native is the strength of the white man. It is one which we cannot repudiate with too great an emphasis. However difficult the relationship into which both are thrown, it can only be adjusted through their mutual strength not their mutual weakness. They rise and fall together, jointly blessed and jointly banned.

The same set of principles apply to another difficult and unpalatable subject, which raises the most acute and violent of all racial antipathies, namely what are known as 'black peril' cases. That attacks of this character on white women should rouse Europeans to the highest pitch of fury is most comprehensible. But again it is necessary to go behind such horrible incidents to the causes which produce them, and to do so is to realise that the white man has his responsibility in this matter as well as the black. Mass-meeting terrorism and lynchings are no solution for this evil. Black peril cases are the peculiar product of racial degradation and distrust. They do not arise without a whole atmosphere of social unrest and demoralisation. They point to a complete breakdown of self-respect as between

black and white, and the responsibility for that breakdown rests primarily with the white man. Density of native population and the isolation of individual European homes have nothing whatever to do with this evil. In the Transkei, for instance, and the Native Territories generally, such cases are unknown, and the handful of European officials leave their wives and children with entire safety for weeks together among a teeming black population. But the Transkei, let it be remembered, has been the scene of the experiment in self-government set on foot by Mr. Rhodes, and contains a large proportion of natives actually engaged in the minor duties of civilised administration. It presents the object-lesson of a quiet, orderly, well-governed community, and it is impossible not to be impressed with the striking difference it presents from anything which obtains on the left bank of the Umzimkulu, the river separating the Transkei from Natal. Race, climate, conditions are identical; but a different handling of similar human material has brought about wholly different results. The Transkei natives—thanks to the Cape Colony policy, which is based on humanity and individualism, not fear and repression—stand far higher in the scale of civilisation to-day than their kinsmen in Natal. In Basutoland, as we have seen elsewhere, a large proportion of natives have come under Christian influences, self-government and self-respect going hand in hand in that country. What painful moral therefore must be drawn from the prevalence of such crimes in other parts of the country where the native comes in touch with the white man?

A valuable document, to which reference was made in the previous chapter, has recently appeared (1913)

namely, the Report of the Commission, known popularly as the Black Peril Commission—appointed to inquire into Assaults on Women throughout the Union. During the period of eleven years between 1901 and 1912, 648 charges of this character were made, resulting in 464 convictions. Such crimes have increased of late years, but the heads of police are of opinion that such increase is not absolute but one only commensurate with that of crime generally, which unfortunately is high throughout the Union. This exhaustive and dispassionate report is remarkable for its insistence on all the moral factors on the presence or absence of which healthy relations between the races must depend. The Commissioners state at the outset that they must express their conviction,

that measures to check this evil must be taken not merely by administrative action but mainly by upholding, and where necessary uplifting, the status and prestige of the white race, by maintaining the respect in which it should be held, and by doing away with aught and all that may tend to diminish that status, prestige, and respect, and also by securing the moral elevation of the raw, uncivilised native wherever he comes into contact with a white population.

The Commissioners declare that moral and religious influences rightly exercised are essential to the native in present circumstances. Without such restraints and checks all that is most evil in town life reacts in a wholly deplorable manner on the natives. Men of excitable passions and little self-control, the dregs of our civilisation, watch over them to their undoing. Drunkenness is a vice to which Kafirs are peculiarly prone, and the Chief Commissioner of Police for the Union has stated that liquor is responsible for 80 per cent. of crimes of violence committed by natives and coloured men, including of course the particular type

of crime we are considering. Nevertheless the administration of liquor laws in various parts of South Africa is scandalously lax, and the illicit trade flourishes almost unabashed, especially on the Rand. Alcohol, especially the vile form of alcohol diluted with methylated spirits and other horrors, sold for native consumption, drives the Kafir almost mad. White women and children actually are dragged as purveyors and hawkers into this abominable trade, with consequences easy to imagine. Yet no one proposes that the illicit wine-seller should be lynched rather than the victim for whose crimes he is so largely responsible. A more drastic and vigilant administration of the liquor laws is a crying need in South Africa to-day. So long as the illicit trade is dealt with in this half-hearted manner, and the disreputable white allowed to make money not only at the expense of the native but at the peril of the community as a whole, so long will circumstances persist of a nature leading inevitably to the commission of offences against women. When the atmosphere is further charged with racial hatred and distrust, when the brute-beast point of view is continually thrust on the native by the European, what wonder if the brute within himself takes charge? We put the native boy fresh from his kraal by thousands and thousands through what Mr. Merriman has called the University of Crime, Johannesburg. At his compound door await him the basest types of degraded white humanity ready to compass his undoing. The free circulation of indecent pictures and photographs, together with bioscope entertainments of a very undesirable class, inflame his undisciplined mind still further with ideas of a perilous nature. We take practically no steps to preserve him from drink and

debauchment, save to call down fire from heaven when payment for such shortcomings is exacted in the person of some innocent white woman. The miracle is, not that such crimes occur, but that on the whole the native returns to his own kraal so little the worse for the experience from which he has emerged.

The Commission deal at length with another matter to which I heard constant reference when in South Africa, namely the grave shortcomings which exist as regards the employment of native boys in domestic service, or as nurses for children. It is the house-boy, not the mine-boy, who in the large majority of cases is responsible for these particular crimes—a fact which should give pause to heads of households, who have their own responsibility in the matter. The social relations of white employers and coloured native servants call for more care than generally speaking they receive in South Africa. The thousands of house-boys who are admitted to the intimacies of European life raise a problem of a very real kind and one too little appreciated. It cannot be said that many of these boys pass through the hands of their masters and mistresses the better for the experience. The successful management of servants is at all times something of a gift, and points to the possession of a certain instinct for rule. And if this is the case in England, it is tenfold more so when dealing with native servants. The type of employer who is turn by turn capricious and familiar, harsh one day and indulgent the next, is wholly demoralising to the native morale. The universal distaste for manual labour among Europeans of both sexes leads to the employment of house-boys by many women who have never had a servant in England and have most elementary ideas of how servants should be

treated. The unwritten laws which should regulate the relations of a white woman with a black servant are wholly unknown to such persons. Hence a degree of familiarity between mistress and servant of a most objectionable kind, the house-boy not infrequently fulfilling the duties and services of a lady's-maid to a degree which outrages every sense of modesty and decency. Services of a character, which no white woman would dream of accepting from a white man-servant, are accepted casually and carelessly from a native, in some cases little removed from a savage. It is merely the point of view which regards the native as a chattel not a human being which renders such slackness and lack of personal dignity possible. But the slackness and lack of personal dignity leave their mark on the native, and the loss of respect for his employers throws wide open the door to a flood of worse evils. Of course there are countless households in which a different standard obtains, and from such a training the native emerges improved not disimproved. In Cape Colony again we find a far better policy in this respect than what obtains in other parts of South Africa, the employment of house-girls being more frequent and more attention being paid to the question of their care and housing while in domestic service. But the evils to which I am drawing attention and which were strongly emphasised by the Black Peril Commission are too wide spread to be ignored in any consideration of this particular question.

Few social changes in South Africa are more desirable than a revolution in the present house-boy system, and the supersession of men by women servants—one of the principal recommendations of the Report. But here again we are pulled up short by another aspect

of the Black Peril situation from which in common justice we cannot turn our eyes. The native has a right to complain that there is a white peril for his womenkind, as great as a black peril for the European, and though the one involves a greater element of violence than the other, the two evils must be considered side by side. Self-respecting natives absolutely refuse to allow their daughters to work in towns, so great are the forces of evil and corruption to which black women are exposed. The Natal Native Affairs Commission, taking evidence as to the causes of the rebellion in 1906, addressed itself with the greatest emphasis to this point. The words of the Commission on this subject are very striking :

No nation [they write] can tolerate members of an alien race tampering with their women, and nothing is more calculated than the debauchment of their girls to stretch the endurance of even the most submissive people to the breaking point. The evidence teems with reference to this unpalatable subject, the cumulative effect of which cannot be disavowed or ignored. It constitutes one of their principal grievances and was emphasised by them with an intensity of purpose and warmth of feeling which showed the extent of the evil and its resultant injury to themselves.

The Black Peril Commission, who quote the above passage in their own Report, deal frankly and candidly with this side of the case, and say that the gravity of it cannot be over-estimated. They quote the bitter words of a native, 'What is your value of the chastity of a young and unspoiled native girl? It is £5; and yet you value the chastity of a white woman at a human life.' Segregationists would claim these circumstances in support of their policy, but segregation, though naturally it places some check on the social contacts of black and white, breaks down over the labour question, for no policy yet put forward proposes to dispense with

the hired services of natives for industrial and domestic purposes. Consequently, it fails to touch the root of the evils we are considering.

So far as the employment of native women in domestic service is concerned, much could be done to render that employment more possible by better housing conditions. There are few social difficulties and disadvantages in South Africa either for black or white which cannot be traced back to the many drawbacks connected with housing. There is no point on which it is more desirable to bring active public opinion to bear. Houses are small and very inadequately provided with bedrooms. The native house-girl has to be accommodated in some outside shanty, the perils and disadvantages of which are obvious. The native locations are often a collection of scandalous hovels which are a disgrace to the community. The provision of decent healthy locations in the neighbourhood of Johannesburg or other large towns where families could live together and the girls sleep at home would do much to help this question. But when all this has been accomplished, the fundamental reform must come from within and not be concerned merely with better administrative efficiency or preventive measures. We must look not to artificial devices to check this evil, but to a better moral atmosphere for black and white alike. Encourage the native to act and think as a citizen, and his growth in self-respect will be the measure of the social security achieved for the community as a whole. This is not merely a theoretical proposition : the truth of it has been demonstrated practically within the boundaries of the Empire itself.

§ Sir Sidney Olivier's evidence on the social conditions

which obtain in Jamaica is most striking, and has great relevance in this connection. The population consists of 15,000 whites and some 700,000 coloured persons. But in Jamaica as in the other British West Indies black assaults on white women and children are practically unknown :

No apprehension of them whatever troubles society [he writes]. Any resident in Jamaica will tell the same story. A young white woman can walk alone in the hills or to Kingston, in daylight or dark, through populous settlements of exclusively black or coloured folk, without encountering anything but friendly salutation from man or woman. Single ladies may hire a carriage and drive all over the island without trouble or molestation. Offences against women and children come into the courts : but they are not against white women and children. Whatever may be the cause it is the indisputable fact that Jamaica, or any other West Indian island, is as safe for white women to go about in, if not safer than any European country with which I am acquainted.

To what can we attribute this happy absence of such manifestations of racial disorder in the West Indies as distract the United States and have been too common in South Africa ? The Jamaica negro is not blessed with virtues above the rest of his kind, neither is he endowed with any inherent superiority. But the social and political order of the Island has been developed along wise and enlightened lines. What has been sown in liberality has been reaped in peace.

Emancipation, education, identical justice, perfect equality in the Law Courts and under the Constitution whatever the law of the Constitution might be [continues Sir Sidney Oliver]—these take away the sting of race difference, and if there is race inferiority it is not burthened with an artificial handicap.

But no less remarkable is the position of the white man in Jamaica unprotected as he is by any of those artificial barriers for which a demand may be heard

in South Africa. A mere handful in numbers, they nevertheless control the destiny of the island as effectually as though they were a majority instead of a fractional minority. They control it, however, with very little friction. A policy of racial hatred and suppression would have borne its evil fruits in Jamaica as in the Southern States. It is significant, and a point to which we must return subsequently, that the real freedom and liberality which obtain in the island exist under Crown Colony administration, not under that of complete self-government. The different results obtained in the West Indies and in the Southern States by widely different systems applied to a similar problem and similar human material are among the most remarkable object-lessons of modern government. The provocation of the South, as I have already said, had been enormous ; an unhappy chain of circumstances had necessarily exasperated white public opinion against the negro. The more peaceable evolution of the West Indies was denied to the American people, who, unfamiliar with Crown Colony government, could only meet the political and social needs of the negro with methods so grossly unsuitable as manhood suffrage and votes. But whatever explanation or justification is forthcoming for the policy pursued, the fruits of that policy followed have been bitter for black and white alike, and it is only with the growth of a more temperate spirit that the Southern States themselves have begun to regain something of their old proud position.

So far therefore as social contrasts between black and white are concerned we can put aside the fear that the development of the native through education and civilisation will encourage race fusion and the evils of miscegenation. As we have seen, fusion takes place on

the lower planes of both races. The most sure way to promote such evils is to thrust the native perpetually into a position of outer darkness when he falls back inevitably on the brute side of himself. On the contrary, as the native rises in civilisation, so far from blending with the white man he will probably develop a higher form of race-consciousness which will tend instinctively to segregate him. Not a blurring of type but a generous and free co-operation between different types may mean the fullest life for both. But there is all the difference in the world between the tacit social segregation of two races who realise that their highest interests are parallel but not joint, and the compulsory segregation which may be but another name for repression. Political peace turns on this possibility of self-expression and development among natives. Teach the Kafir to despise himself, overwhelm him with the sense of his own inferiority, and you open the door to all the racial vices which on the one hand and the other spring from a lack of self-respect. It is haphazard contact with the white man's civilisation which produces that disintegration of native life so disturbing to all thoughtful observers. It is only when we rouse in the native some sense of his worth as a man, a workman, and a citizen, that the process of disintegration is stopped and he finds himself in a measure again. A lot that is to serve but never to share, which is to bear the drudgery of the white man's civilisation but never know its delights—can we seriously lay down such a policy for them and for us? Injustice and oppression are astonishingly easy methods for the white man to apply to the black; but what is as sure as the rising of to-morrow's sun is that the habit of mind so acquired will lead to those same methods being turned

in the long run by white men one against another. Social relations in the more limited sense it is undesirable to encourage between black and white, for social relations imply the possibility of marriage, and this is a possibility from which the wise of both races shrink with repugnance. The physical aversion inspired in many white men by the very appearance of the native is in itself a salutary check on familiarity. But courtesy, forbearance, above all a strict justice—this the white race can give to the black without the smallest encroachment on the intimacies of life; and provided this is given, the atmosphere is created in which certain inevitable adjustments of life between the races can then be attempted.

The difficulties of a bi-racial, or rather bi-coloured, community are at all times enormous. No possible means of dealing with them can be wholly consistent or free from certain objections. Education, as we have seen, is essential to social peace, yet certain obvious difficulties are bound to arise as the natives become educated. The first-fruits of education are almost invariably disturbing and unsettling. Social, religious, and political movements of a disquieting and unsatisfactory kind are set on foot. The Ethiopian Church movement, for instance, has caused much anxiety in South Africa, though I found that authorities differed considerably in their estimate of the gravity and importance of the racial phenomena it had produced. These 'new movements' among natives in connection with religion, of which Ethiopianism is the chief, have been frequent in South Africa of late years, and are regarded by some qualified judges as only disguises for an anti-white propaganda. The whole question is discussed with great moderation and detachment

in the 1909 'South African Natives' volume. Even so there is nothing surprising in these manifestations. Bitterness, if not violence, will no doubt mark many phases of the transition. But the point to be borne in mind is that the unsettlement and discontent have to be reckoned with in any case. The very advent of the white man creates them in the hearts of the weaker race among whom he comes to settle. Unless the growing self-consciousness of the native mind is recognised and guided by the European, the results of a policy of suspicion, repression, and distrust are calculated to be far more formidable than the fruits of ordinary educational methods. As we have seen, there is room for the widest latitude as regards the type and character of education given. Education is more than reading and writing; it is a drawing forth of a man's nature and capacity. With the Kafir the nature and capacity so drawn forth will probably be of a totally different character from that drawn forth in the white races. The discrepancies are bound to be numerous and bewildering. The government of weaker races demands incessant mental alertness and perennial powers of intellectual adaptation as well as the moral qualities on which fine government must rest. The personal insolence and contempt shown by many Europeans to natives all the world over is a source of the most profound mortification and bitterness to educated members of the coloured races. To drive home the sense of weakness and inferiority is a singularly ungenerous act on the part of the strong, and few things are more mischievous politically. It is very desirable, especially in South Africa, to impress upon the children the need of dignity and courtesy in their treatment of the natives. I heard the capable head master

(Mr. Grant) of the Boys' High School at Salisbury, Rhodesia, express himself very admirably on this point. He consistently teaches his boys how great is their responsibility towards the black race and the real obligation resting on them as regards behaviour which in the true sense should be worthy of a gentleman. Along such lines as these we must work, however obscure the future. It has been the pride of the British race to have created and upheld high standards of government among alien races with whom their lot is cast. However difficult and novel the fresh aspects of the problem, to decline at this stage on to a lower standard would be to fail at a crucial test in the high tradition of our race. But we shall have to meet this increasing claim not by the old virtues alone but by the exercise of new ones. To powers of justice and good government we must add powers of sympathy and imagination in our dealings with the educated native. We must abandon the Olympian altitude of an infinitely superior being always desirous of doing him good whether he likes it or not. We must learn to yield, it may be, something of our proud efficiency in order to guide, to humour the halting steps of men for whose political aspirations contact with our own civilisation is responsible. We must be patient with a whole class of faults and not infrequently of deceptions peculiarly trying to the standards of an honourable and high-minded Englishman. There will be many failures, many misapprehensions, many grave difficulties of adjustment. But in the end as in the beginning the white man will rule; but it will be the royal rule of fitness, character, and capacity, honourable to himself and without humiliation to those he governs.

CHAPTER XVII

THE INDUSTRIAL CONTACT AND THE QUESTION OF
WHITE LABOUR

Our life is turn'd
 Out of her course, wherever man is made
 An offering or a sacrifice, a tool
 Or implement, a passive thing employ'd
 As a brute mean, without acknowledgment
 Of common right or interest in the end;
 Used or abused, as selfishness may prompt.

WORDSWORTH.

ONE of the exaggerations of South Africa is the criticism heaped on the laziness of the Kafir. It springs not unnaturally from the fact that South Africa suffers chronically from a shortage of labour, one of the most difficult and perplexing features of its industrial life. Let it be granted at once that the native has not the industrial efficiency of the coolie or the Chinaman; neither has he any conception of the European standard which takes a pride in work for work's sake. Let it be granted also that he has not the smallest affection for prolonged and regular occupations of an industrial character. Our social order has been built up on labour, his has not. The Kafir is primarily an agriculturist, and his passionate attachment to the land is as great as his attachment to home. He farms badly, wastefully, inefficiently, but farming is what he likes and prefers. He becomes

a temporary wage-earner working for spells of six, twelve, or eighteen months, thanks to the economic pressure which makes it necessary for him to supplement the fruits of agriculture by those of industry. And, like all supplemental wage-earners, the standard so created is not a high one. Neither does he throw all the agricultural work connected with the kraal purely on his womenkind: that is a popular illusion. On the whole there has been a very fair division of labour between the sexes. In old days when the Kafir was a fighting man or away guarding cattle, women necessarily dug the mealie patch and did the work immediately round the kraal. If a hut was built the man cut the wattles and carried them in, and the wife did the thatching. To-day the spread of plough and farm implements among the natives has decreased the participation of women in agriculture and increased the share of agricultural work done by the men. Feminism is penetrating even among the native populations in South Africa, and I was told that nowadays a suitor for the hand of a Kafir maiden finds himself subjected to a sharp examination from the damsel as to his possession or non-possession of a plough; girls declining more and more to do the hoeing of the ground or to marry men unprovided with these luxuries.

The dignity of labour, as I have already remarked, is a theme on which the European is apt to wax eloquent as regards the native. This is one of the few paths of honour on which he is wholeheartedly called upon to enter, so long as he confines himself to the unskilled grades. But, as Sir Sidney Olivier dryly remarks in the work to which I have already referred, 'This is a theory which coincides most providentially with the

purposes for which the white man is there, viz. to get things dug up which the native does not wish to dig for.' Nobody would pretend that the native is a diligent or persistent worker, but in view of the fact that all unskilled labour throughout the land is practically carried out by him, and by him alone, it cannot be said he has done so badly.

Discussion of the labour questions and difficulties of the country would be far easier if the white men would only realise that there is no earthly reason why the Kafir should spend his time in gold and diamond mines for a longer period than is necessary for the gratification of his own modest needs. As he becomes more civilised his needs will increase, and he will be forced to labour more strenuously for their gratification. No compulsion obviously could, or should, be used in the matter: it is a process which time alone can effect. It may be that the native leading the simple life in his kraal, with ambitions bounded by beads and a concertina, is a happier mortal than the civilised Kafir arrayed in the most correct European clothes, who takes an intelligent interest in political affairs. Here we touch the eternal question of how far an increase of consciousness implies an increased power of suffering. It is impossible not to feel that for the native the path of knowledge is guarded by a toll-keeper of pain demanding from him even heavier exactions than those which befall the white man. He wakes to a consciousness, not of fullness of life, but fullness of inferiority, and the measure of his progress is too often the measure of the antipathy he rouses among his white neighbours. Be that as it may, the type of white man who clamours with one breath for unlimited cheap labour, and with the next for 'keeping the

nigger in his place,' cannot have it both ways. No compulsion must be used to make the native work except the increase in his own needs, and the acquisition of those needs marks a rise in the standard of civilisation with all that civilisation implies.

The industrial contact of the black man with the white gives rise to much irritation and heartburning. All is well so long as the Kafir keeps to the lower grade of industry. It is his entry into the skilled ranks which stirs up strife and once again brings the two schools of construction and repression face to face. Here it will be found, as elsewhere, that the policy of repression proves unworkable and that adjustment must be sought on other lines. The economic issues raised are of a most difficult and complicated kind, a labyrinth in which such slender clues of guidance as exist are extremely hard to follow. Yet some attempt must be made to avoid the present piling up of South African industrial development in a blind alley, a process which if left unchecked will force the country back upon itself in dire confusion. However perplexing the situation, however difficult the solution, it must be found through hard thought, not through an indolent policy of drift along the line of the least resistance.

The labour problems of South Africa, of course, permeate the whole of its political and industrial life. Mining and agriculture are the two great industries, and the latter in the long run is likely to be the more permanent one. But for the moment the mines are the chief economic factor in the land, and Johannesburg is its dominant consideration. It is unnecessary to repeat here the well-known facts connected with the discovery of the Rand, and all the weighty consequences which have resulted from the unique mineral wealth

of the Transvaal. The gold mines at this moment, both directly and indirectly, carry the financial superstructure of the Union. It is much to be hoped that the healthy development of other industries will in time bring about a better distribution of economic interests. For the present the centre of gravity lies overwhelmingly in the Transvaal, and it is useless to try to ignore the fact because it happens to be unpalatable to many people. The formation of the gold reefs found on the Rand is peculiar to the country and is unknown in other parts of the world. The precious metal is deposited in a series of pebble beds known as banket, and the value of these deposits lies, as explained in a previous chapter, not so much in their richness (for the reef is of low grade), as in their singular continuity. The return of gold per ton milled is not high, the value being, in 1911, 27·94 shillings per ton milled, and the process of extraction, as we saw in the same chapter, is a complicated business involving high-class and expensive machinery. In December 1911 the working population on the seventy-seven Rand mines, either developed or in process of development, consisted of 24,171 white men engaged in duties of superintendence, whose wages average £26 to £30 a month, and 182,958 natives engaged in the rough unskilled work, whose wages are £3 a month plus their keep. South African gold mining has been built up on this combination of skilled and unskilled labour, a relationship corresponding not with capacity but with colour.

Yoked in this uneven comradeship black man and white man rub along together, and the majority of South Africans are satisfied that these conditions spring from the essential facts of the situation and cannot be altered. More and more, however, the

question is making itself heard as to whether these conditions of labour are as final and as inevitable as we are often led to suppose. When all is said and done, they postulate a perpetuation of savage conditions on the part of the Kafir races, the persistence of which cannot be regarded as probable. As the native rises in the scale of civilisation, as his wants and his capacities develop side by side, will he be content always to accept this position of the unskilled labourer working at a low wage, an industrial chattel to be used at will by his white employers? It is self-evident that the native in course of time will exact a better position for himself and justify that position by the increased capacity he will bring to his work. As already stated, in the Cape Province, where the coloured population has had a longer period of education and development than in other parts of South Africa, the census returns show that certain trades are passing from white into coloured hands. Coloured bricklayers, carpenters, and plasterers get the same rate of wages for skilled work as Europeans, and I was told that only three white plasterers were left in Cape Town. Employment, both coloured and white, had shrunk between 1904 and 1911, and the percentage of shrinkage in the case of the white artisans and the corresponding increase among the coloured workers are striking and disquieting. These facts are being forced more and more prominently on the notice of the white races in South Africa, and much resentment is shown at the obvious economic rivalry they demonstrate. But the significance of the facts and the moral to be drawn from them are less clearly realised save by the few. The economic competition of black and white is a point on which Europeans,

above all others, are sensitive. Yet it is difficult to feel that this sensitiveness is concerned with a high degree of self-respect or self-confidence, or that it justifies much sympathy.

The whole attitude of the white man in South Africa to labour questions is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. The slave tradition of the old days, when Malays were imported by the Dutch in considerable numbers, has left the legacy of an attitude of mind about manual labour which succeeding generations have but too faithfully and too unfortunately adopted. The Kafir races have never been slaves: that at least is an aggravation of the position which the country has been spared; but their presence in large numbers, together with their inferiority, has made it fatally easy for the white man to resign to them the whole field of unskilled labour, and having resigned the field, to view it with contempt as a possible sphere of action for himself. From these beginnings, trivial no doubt at the outset, a whole social order has been built up of a very detrimental type. And the results to-day are of that paradoxical, whimsical character which is a common feature of South African life. Here is a country in which the cry perpetually rises to Heaven that there is a dearth of labour and that industry comes to a standstill because the supply of Kafirs willing to do unskilled work is limited and unreliable. Here, too, is a country where a minority of whites are anxious to increase their numbers so as to reduce the disproportion which exists at present between themselves and the black race. Now the strength of a dominant white race can be built up on labour and labour alone. It is possible to have all sorts of abstract arguments about the simple life, the higher nature,

leisure, and the rest. In the evolution of our civilisation hard work and self-respect cannot be dissociated. But when we seek to apply that principle to South Africa we find that at every turn and corner the white man refuses to undertake ordinary manual tasks which he stigmatises as Kafir work. There is no class of efficient hard-working white labourers, and it is their absence which is the undoing of the land. The only forms of labour to which the European will condescend are of a skilled character, as shown by the position indicated on the goldfields. He must be a boss, a gaffer, an overseer at the top of the ladder, an industrial aristocrat regarding with supreme contempt the humbler avocations which he pursued contentedly enough in England. Few things are more extraordinary than to see how rapidly this attitude is absorbed by the newcomer from England, who may have been all his life an unskilled labourer. The lordly progress to work, for instance, of the white painter in South Africa might well excite the irony of some later-day Aristophanes. He strolls forth with an air of conscious superiority, one native carrying his paint pot, another carrying his brush, a group of satellites waiting on the scene of his labour to prop up the ladder and minister to any minor needs which may arise. Efficiency can make no terms with such a spirit. An instructive story on this head was told by Mr. Francis Oats, Chairman of De Beers. A young European, recently arrived at Kimberley, refused one morning to assist the overseer in loading some trucks, declaring such a task was Kafir's work. The youth was reminded that he had done exactly similar work in England, to which he replied that Kimberley was not England and he would rather throw up his job than load the trucks.

The result of this prejudice is threefold. First, it brings immigration almost to a standstill, the degree of skilled labour which a country can absorb at any time being obviously limited ; secondly, it results in a serious loss of efficiency as regards the white man's standard of work and labour, for skilled employment which qualifies at the top, not at the bottom, of the ladder can never be so efficient as labour which has worked through all the grades ; thirdly, it is directly responsible for the creation of one of the most difficult problems in South Africa, the problem of the poor white. So serious had the question become of the poverty and destitution of large numbers of white men in the Transvaal and elsewhere that the Government appointed a Commission in 1906 to inquire into the subject. The Report of the Transvaal Indigency Commission is a document of first-rate importance, and lays bare with admirable clearness and acumen the causes which serve largely to stultify social and industrial progress in South Africa. Few Royal Commissions have carried out their work more thoroughly than this one, but it must be admitted that not every Royal Commission is in the happy position of commanding the services as its secretary of an intellect so brilliant as that of Mr. Philip Kerr.

The poor white in South Africa, as in America, is the peculiar product of a bi-coloured state, where manual labour is despised and vested entirely in the hands of the weaker black race. The experience of South Africa and the Southern States in this respect is identical. Where the white man directs and the coloured man does the work, the relatively incapable white man is bound to be unable to maintain his position as an aristocrat in the economic world, and must either merge with the coloured population or become a parasite

on the white community. Mr. Bryce, in *The American Commonwealth*, deals at length with this point, and the passage in which he comments on the shiftless, ignorant 'improvident class of poor white trash, economically superfluous, disliked by the planters and despised by the slaves,' applies almost word for word to conditions unhappily very similar in South Africa. There is something almost ludicrous in the circumstance that a class so worthless is nevertheless the class whose attitude to the natives is apt to be more aggressive and arrogant than that of any other section. But again, as Mr. Bryce remarks, 'The less a man has to be proud of, the more proud he will be of his colour.'

The Indigency Commission indicated three handicaps which hamper the white workman in South Africa—his prejudice against manual labour, his inefficiency, and the high wages demanded. The apathy of white men to qualify even for skilled work is a very unsatisfactory feature of industrial life in South Africa to-day. The reluctance of young South Africans to learn skilled trades and the aversion to apprenticeship for their sons are unfortunate facts commented on both by Mr. Warrington Smyth, Chief Secretary for Mines, and by Mr. Cousins, Chief Immigration Officer for the Cape, in the 1912 Report of the White Labour Department. Out of ninety-two vacancies notified for apprentices in various trades, not six respectable lads were forthcoming. Though wages are paid to apprentices in South Africa, instead of premiums being paid by them, employers state that the greatest difficulty is found in obtaining lads to apprentice themselves to such trades as saddlery, plumbing, tailoring, bootmaking, baking, confectionery, etc. Despite this reluctance on the part of Europeans, objections are raised at once when coloured men qualify

for these pursuits. The net result is either that the trade passes out of European hands or that, in industries and localities where the prejudice is strong enough to keep the coloured man out, the community as a whole suffers from the inadequacy or inferiority of the trades concerned.

Wages in South Africa are high, but owing to the cost of living they by no means represent a net gain on the English standard. The Indigency Commission went exhaustively into the question of wages and cost of living on the Rand—for the Rand sets the industrial pace of the country to the annoyance of other districts, especially the Cape Province, where the standard is less high. I reproduce the tables,¹ though the figures have been subjected to modification since 1906. House rents have fallen between 30 and 50 per cent. since that date, and, owing to the reduction in railway freights, there has been a general fall in the cost of living, anyway in urban districts. It is not strictly correct to say the cost of living is still

1

	ARTISAN.		LABOURER.	
	Johannesburg prices (a)	English prices (b)	Johannesburg prices (a)	English prices (b)
Expenditure at English Standards:				
Food . . .	33s. 6d.	22s. 3d.	21s. 7d.	14s. 4½d.
Rent . . .	20s. to 30s.	5s. 6d.	10s. to 20s.	3s. 6d.
Sundries . .	16s.	8s. 9d.	6s. 5d.	3s. 5½d.
Total per week .	£3 9s. 6d. to £3 19s. 6d.	£1 16s. 6½d.	£1 17s. to £2 7s.	£1 1s. 4½d.
Prevailing rate of wages per week .	£6	£1 15s. to £2	£3	£1 to £1 5s.

twice as high in Johannesburg as in England. In the circular issued by the Emigrants' Information Office, Westminster, it is stated that in Johannesburg the average expenditure of an artisan and his wife and three children under twelve years of age, for food, clothing, and rent, is estimated at £25 a month, exclusive of medical attendance, tobacco, and liquor. The same publication states that the average artisan earns £26 a month, and the average clerk £20 to £24. There has been no alteration, therefore, as regards the scale of wages paid to the artisan which, according to the Mining Industry Commission (1907-1908), is three times as high as in England and 50 to 100 per cent. higher than in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western States of America. Unfortunately there is no increase of efficiency to set off against this extra cost: on the contrary, as we have seen, skilled labour in South Africa is on a sensibly lower plane than that of other countries unsubjected to the demoralising influence of a coloured population who are kept on a plane of subservience. Neither, as the Commission points out, do these inflated wages represent a higher standard of life among the white working population on the Rand, nor do they express themselves in an increased expenditure on education and refining influences. 'What do you do with your high wages?' I asked of one of these industrial aristocrats in Johannesburg who had come originally from my own home and was calling at the hotel. 'Oh, it all goes in the drink,' he replied cheerfully. My friend's case may have been an extreme one, but from what I saw of the working-class population in Johannesburg their condition struck me as eminently unsatisfactory. Generally speaking the housing accommodation is wretched. Money is spent on extravagant

living and amusements; there is very little thrift, very little to show for the £1 a day wages. The paralysing effect of reliance on the black boy spreads to the woman. Wives and daughters of an artizan, who at home are hard-working and self-respecting women, demand black servants and piccanins to relieve them of household duties. The extra leisure so obtained is devoted to the cult of clothes and amusement. It is but another instance of the old, old truth that man does not live by bread alone, and that an increase of material means without a corresponding increase in better interests leaves a man and woman's last state worse than their first. To this condition of affairs thoughtful men in South Africa are more and more directing their attention. Are such conditions compatible with a true growth of national wealth?—wealth not measured in terms of dividends but in Ruskin's noble definition: 'there is no wealth but life: life with all its powers of love, joy and admiration.' The conclusion to which all such thinkers come is the same. It is that which is emphasised by the findings of the Indigency Commission, namely that if the white man is to make good his position in the country, if he is to be strong numerically and blessed with the robust virtues for which we look to a virile democracy, then these prejudices must be abandoned and he must enter frankly and freely into the field of unskilled labour.

This is a proposition to which most South Africans would give academic support, especially when it is suggested that white labour should find the scene of its efforts on the land or in such works of public utility as railway construction, municipal enterprise, &c. But Johannesburg and the gold-mining industry set,

as we have seen, the industrial standards of the country, and the gold-mining industry professes its incapacity to deal with white unskilled labour on any terms.

The general discussion of the pros and cons of white labour is a new feature in South Africa since the war. In 1899 when I was in the country no such idea seemed practicable. A certain shortage of native labour was a chronic condition on the mines and elsewhere, but the acute shortage which followed the war and led to the introduction of the Chinese had not yet arisen to throw the whole question into the melting-pot. Everyone acquiesced—acquiesced much too lazily, as many of us now see—in the conventional view then prevalent of the basis of industrial life in South Africa—namely, skilled white and unskilled black labour. To many of us this circumstance entirely justified the temporary employment of Chinese, honestly convinced as we were that there was no alternative. But many people, myself included, who wrote and spoke at the time in this sense are now, in the light of fuller experience, if not converts to the extreme teachings of the white labour school, at least disposed to regard the whole question as an open one. Whether or not white men will bring themselves to do unskilled work, the native is clearly bound to become a skilled worker, a circumstance which of itself revolutionises the whole position. I am still of opinion that the employment of white labour on any large scale would have been impossible in Johannesburg at the time when the Chinese were imported. The cost of living was then so high owing to the devastations of the war that the gulf between the standard of white and black wages could not have been bridged economically without wrecking the gold industry itself, a result which would have

benefited nobody. The employment of unskilled white labour, it must be remembered, implies an utter revolution in the whole social and industrial outlook of South Africa. The change, if it comes at all, can only come gradually. It could not have been effected with a rush at a moment of crisis and great financial strain. The circumstances were abnormal and exceptional, and to that extent justified measures which were equally abnormal and exceptional. To say this, however, is not to acquiesce in the present attitude taken up by the mining community that no change from the present conditions now or at any time will be possible. The subject is one of acute controversy in South Africa to-day, and among mining circles in Johannesburg the proposal to substitute even a proportion of white unskilled labour at 7s. 6d. or even 5s. 4d. per day for native labour at £3 per month is naturally regarded with little favour.

The *non possumus* of the mining industry as regards the employment of white unskilled labour was set forth in detail in a very able speech in the Union House of Assembly by Mr. Drummond Chaplin on February 26, 1913. The argument is as follows. A native unskilled labourer costs in round figures £50 a year, whereas white skilled labour at present is paid at the rate of £26 to £30 a month. It is claimed that a white man could not live at Johannesburg under £150 a year. Say that two white men could do the work of three Kafirs, the relative cost per annum of black and white unskilled labour, on a basis which corresponds to a living wage for both, works out as £300 for the two whites against £150 for the three Kafirs. Mr. Chaplin further claimed that owing to the low-grade character of the reef, some mines, to retain even a slight profit, could,

at the outside, only pay white unskilled labour at the rate of 5s. 4d. per day, or in round figures, £6 6s. per month. Another undoubted difficulty is that the white artisans who already hold the skilled labour field and are paid £1 a day look with but scant sympathy on a white unskilled labour movement, the first consequences of which, if successful, would result in a fall of wages. Six guineas a month is certainly not a living wage in Johannesburg under present conditions, but are we therefore to conclude that no modification of these conditions is at any time possible? Mr. Chaplin's objections seem insuperable on the present basis: the whole question hinges on the finality of that basis. Rightly or wrongly the contrary opinion is held, and held strongly, in certain quarters. The Mining Industry Commission of 1907-1908, with one exception, reported strongly in favour of the use of white unskilled labour on the Rand, and supported their arguments by a formidable array of figures and statistics. No document of recent times in South Africa has been more hotly challenged than this one, its data and its conclusions being flatly denied by the mining industry. To all of which in turn the advocates of white labour reply that industrial experience the world over shows that cheap labour is invariably dear labour; that white labour even at a higher rate is more efficient, and therefore more economical, in the long run; that the last word in working costs has not as yet been said; that the cost of living in Johannesburg must in time be reduced, thereby bringing wages on to a more natural basis; that the mining industry prefer black labour, not only because it is cheap, but because it avoids industrial troubles and the demands of Trade Unions; finally, that South Africa must renounce all pretensions

of being a white man's country if an oligarchy of white workers are to entrench themselves in a position which makes the spread of white labour impossible.

It is exceedingly difficult for any traveller to judge as between these rival contentions which raise economic issues of the most complicated kind. One has the impression that both parties overstate their case and go too far in the respective directions of assertion and denial. In the long run the question resolves itself to one of working costs, but a great many social and industrial changes may arise which will in turn influence the whole question of costs profoundly. Obviously there is a point beyond which no given industry can support additional charges thrust upon it in the interests of the community. Over and over again, however, so-called restrictive legislation, so far from crippling enterprise, has led to an increase of efficiency which left the industry in the long run better off than before. And we need not accept off-hand the statement of any employer that the breaking-point has been reached. Employers as a body have an extraordinary affection for the last ditch and are to be found screaming in it over and over again in the course of industrial history. Dislodged from one point they repeat their wails in another strategic position somewhat to the rear of the first one. It is always well to remember how in this country, early in the last century, the excessive employment of small children in cotton factories was defended on the plea that without an unlimited supply of child labour the supremacy of the British cotton trade must pass into other hands. Arguments of this kind have been so frequent and so fallacious in the course of industrial history that they always demand very sharp scrutiny—in Johannesburg as elsewhere. The practical

application of the truth may lie midway between the contentions of the rival parties ; but there can be no question whatever that unless the spread of white labour is in some measure and degree possible, the whole future position of the European races in South Africa becomes precarious in the extreme. There is sound truth in the dictum of the Mining Industry Commission ' that the people who do the work of a country will in the end inherit it.' The inevitable corollary, however, of the teaching of the white labour school has not, I think, as yet been sufficiently recognised—certainly not by the South African Labour Party itself, whose attitude, as remarked in a previous chapter, is inclined to be that of a careful guardianship of their own industrial preserve. If there is to be industrial health in the country, not only must the white man enter freely into the field of unskilled labour, but the black man must enter no less freely into the guarded enclosure of skilled labour. Public opinion in South Africa, though it has moved somewhat, however reluctantly, in the direction of the first proposition, recoils with utter repugnance from the latter. Nevertheless the inexorable logic of facts points that way if the white man wishes to make good his position in the land. In a country so completely paradoxical as Africa we may find here again that what was expected to work disaster proves not an avalanche but a steady influence.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, the question of white labour is certainly very much in the air and forms the subject of discussion and dispute in and out of Parliament. Mr. Creswell, the able leader of the Labour party, has been for years a consistent advocate of this course, which he has upheld in the face of much opposition and abuse. Gifted with enthusiasm and transparent

honesty of purpose, it is impossible not to regret the streak of bitterness which robs him of the real position his disinterestedness and brains should command in South Africa. His battles with the mining industry have been severe, and neither side can speak or think tolerantly of the other. The policy further has received a valuable adherent in Mr. Patrick Duncan, one of the officials introduced by Lord Milner into the Transvaal, whose high gifts, both of character and capacity, have placed him in the front rank of South African politicians. Mr. Duncan, who is labelled idealist and has his opinions dismissed on that ground by men possessing not a fraction of his ability, as a matter of fact sees a great deal farther in this question than anyone else, inasmuch as he not only advocates the spread of white unskilled labour, but realises that it must go hand in hand with an increased efficiency of coloured labour. The explanation of this necessity after all is very simple. So long as South Africa has to struggle with two standards of wages so diverse as at present exist—standards coinciding, as I must repeat, with colour not capacity—the country is bound to go on in the same old vicious rut of skilled white labour and unskilled black labour, with all the attendant evils to which I have drawn attention. Economic equalisation is the crying need. Wages require to be raised at the bottom and lowered at the top. The spread of black labour must lead to a rise in the standard wages paid to such labour—economically there is no escape from that. Every rise in civilisation made by the native, every increase in his needs, means an escape from wages which at present are not a living wage for a white. And when this readjustment has taken place what shall we find? The white man outswamped and outclassed

by the native? That is the fear which haunts the school of repression and which seeks to express itself in restrictive legislation. Restrictive legislation, as we have seen through every aspect of this question, is not only morally wrong but futile. The fear of which it is the expression is surely based on a complete misapprehension of the circumstances which are likely to arise. As Mr. Patrick Duncan pointed out at the Unionist Congress in Johannesburg held in November 1912, to increase the efficiency of native work is to expose the white man less and less to the undercutting competition of the wages of a savage. Make the native less of a savage, increase his needs, and the field of competition becomes equalised. It is true that this will deprive the white man of the artificial protection he receives at present—the old fallacy of protection dogs the whole of this argument—and he will have to maintain his supremacy through his own merits and efficiency, and not through any racial airs and graces. That circumstance will be of the greatest benefit to his *morale*. Has the white man so little confidence in his own civilisation and his own powers as to fear that he would be pushed to the wall in any sort of even competition with the black? If this were really the case, if white men cannot hold their own in even competition with native races, then it is time for the white man to go. It is almost unnecessary to add that there is not the smallest reason to fear any such result. It is interesting to notice that in America the revival of the Southern States has coincided with the spread of the unskilled white labour movement. The poor white class is being more and more eliminated, thanks to the fresh and healthy standards brought in by industrial workers from the north. White industry increasingly

dominates the situation to-day, and the negro, once the linch-pin of industry and agriculture, is much less potent in both fields than in former years. The white man has established himself and maintains himself in these new directions not through artificial protection, but through economic superiority.

But immediately this course is suggested the cry goes up, 'But if you are going to train the black man to do skilled work he will take the white man's job, and Europeans will be pushed out of the country altogether.' Another economic fallacy dear to the protectionist is revealed by this plea, the old fallacy that there is only a fixed amount of work, and that one man's gain must be another man's loss. The Mining Industry Commission, with its frequent references to the encroachment of the Kafir and its obvious anxiety as to the increasing skill of coloured labour, succumbed to the same point of view. But the more the wealth-producing capacity of a people is increased by education and civilisation, the greater is the total amount of wealth produced, and the greater will be the demand for commodities the creation of which calls wealth into being. There is no elimination for any one under such a process, only a fuller, richer life for the community as a whole. Trade and industry will prosper and develop with the fuller life of the community. The mill-stone that hangs round the neck of South African industrial development is the present deadweight, with which it is clogged, of stupid, unintelligent, debased labour, little removed from servile conditions. No country can hope to prosper and bear the fruit of a really fine national life, if at its roots lies the paralysing influence of the savage, with all that the savage implies in ignorance and degradation. And the dangerous moral reactions• of

such a state of affairs on the industrial conditions of the land is a side of the case which seldom appears to cross the consciousness of the average South African.

The relations of employers and employed may be, and frequently are, extremely difficult in Great Britain. We have all had too much experience in recent years of the bitterness with which industrial strife may be waged, and of the needless barriers of suspicion and distrust manufactured by the agitator. But better a hundred times such difficulties than the less obvious perils of a society underpinned by semi-servile labour. The situation is all very well for employers who live for to-day, not to-morrow, and naturally take a short view. Indentured labour saves many troubles, and the docile native naturally proves a more amenable instrument than the white man with his labour organisations and industrial demands. The country is still very young industrially and the moral by-products of its conditions have hardly had time as yet to leave their mark on the lives of the people. But any system of industry with cleavage absolute and complete between its higher and its lower ranks—a cleavage coinciding not infrequently with ignorance at the bottom and callousness at the top—is one which may well give us pause. For the tendency in such circumstances is for every white man to become not aristocratic in the true sense of the word, but autocratic in the less worthy personal interpretation. Do such conditions make for a healthy national life? That is the question which forces itself upon one at Johannesburg on Sundays or at other holiday times when the Kafir is roaming about the town in listless idleness. What in the long run will be the effect of these aristocratic and autocratic conditions of labour, not so much on the native as on the white

man who directs and exploits him ? We have already seen their demoralising effect on the poor white and the nervous jealousy with which the progress of the native in civilisation is regarded. Most of the objections urged against the latter are, at bottom, but the selfish arguments of a privileged class who do not wish their own prerogatives or the unskilled labour market disturbed. Civilise the native, raise him in the scale, and by so doing fresh fields of employment are created and flung open for black and white alike. The one sure means of thwarting all trade and development is to keep the native in his present state of economic inefficiency.

All along the line South Africa is crying out for industrial development. Trades concerned with the necessities, let alone the amenities, of life are almost wanting in certain localities, because, for one reason or another, no white man can be found to undertake them, and the native is not allowed. A town or district may go short of cobblers, painters, tailors, bricklayers, because the prejudice is too great to allow of any native workman fulfilling such tasks. And it flatters itself that by so doing it is upholding the principle of the inherent superiority of the white man. Such a point of view is for a country to stand on its head with a vengeance. Lord Selborne spoke very plainly on this subject when he told a South African audience that there was a danger of the energy and grit of the white man being 'mollycoddled out of existence' by artificial protection against black competition. The free recognition of the right of the native to undertake skilled work is resented by the slack European skilled workman who is naturally anxious to protect his privileged position in every sort of way. But though such men would suffer through any readjustment of industrial conditions both in pocket

and pride, there can be no question that a more healthy spirit and a more 'vigorous industrial life can only spread through South Africa when these facts have been honestly faced and weighed. Teach the Kafir the elements of citizenship and self-respect and the present prejudice attached to Kafir's work must little by little break down. Unskilled labour, because no longer the province of a savage, will cease to wear an injurious air to the white working-man. And when white men engage more freely in unskilled labour, white immigration will begin to flow into South Africa, and the numerical position of the European races be sensibly improved.

The entry of the white man into the ranks of unskilled labour, the entry of the native into the ranks of the skilled—to these principles, distasteful though they are to the present temper of the South African community, we must look for the remedy of the obvious industrial ill-health which at present obtains, and especially for some solution of the problem of the poor white. So long as we are content to stereotype a lower form of despised native life alongside our own, into that lower form and lower standards the weaker and less reputable members of the white race will surely be drawn, to their destruction and undoing. The spread of ideas so novel is bound to be slow; there can be no question of any sudden or dramatic change. Readjustment will come, at the best, but by degrees. But if only the fallacies and hindrances of the present position were better realised, little by little the desired readjustment might be effected. A great governing race which approaches its relations with a weaker one in a spirit of duty and responsibility, not the spirit of exploitation and gain, has nothing to fear from the final issue, however great

the difficulties with which it may be confronted. Mr. Bryce and Mr. Murphy both point out that it is from the growth of a more generous responsible spirit among white men in the Southern States that the present amelioration in the relationship of the races has sprung and that the whole position of the whites has improved alongside that of the blacks.

To advocate the spread of white unskilled labour in South Africa is not, however, to accept *in toto* the practical suggestions put forward at this moment by the White Labour Party. A change so fundamental cannot be effected by high-handed means, entailing as it does a radical alteration in the mental attitude of the whole country. Public opinion is as yet scarcely roused, certainly not converted, and so far as it is proposed to deal with the matter by legislation, legislation itself cannot profitably work too far ahead of public opinion. The White Labour Party are anxious to put their theories into effect by causing a shortage of native labour on the Rand. It is proposed that this should be done by placing an embargo on the present importation of natives from Portuguese East Africa, who number about 90,000, nearly half the total labour supply of the Rand. There are many circumstances connected with the employment of natives from Mozambique which are extremely unsatisfactory. The Portuguese Government receives a solatium of 10s. per head for every native recruited, a proceeding which raises some uneasy reflections as to the paternal inducements to labour which may lurk in the background of the proceedings. Under the new Treaty the same paternal Government is no less solicitous that half the contract wages paid to the natives for the first twelve months of his eighteen-months' term should be paid to him, not

on the Rand, but when he comes home to Mozambique—in the presence of a Portuguese official. The Mining Industry claim that they have recently sent a Commission to Portuguese East Africa to inquire into the conditions and that no abuses were brought to light on that occasion. The whole system, however, is indentured labour of the rankest kind, with breaches of contract punishable by the penal law, the condition of all native employment on the Rand. It is yet another proof of the watertight compartments in which some people keep their consciences, especially when any political advantage is to be gained, that the employment of the Chinese, who were eminently fitted to take care of themselves, should have led to such an outcry, while not a dog barks with reference to the induced, indentured, and imported labour from Mozambique to the Rand, even with the consoling figure thrown in of the Portuguese official watching with tender care over the payment of the native's wages after the return home. Mr. Duncan, who has supported the movement for checking the importation of Mozambique natives, does so on the grounds that no industrial progress can be made within the Union so long as the white workman and the more civilised black workman alike are exposed to the competition of savages imported from without, a contention which is perfectly true. It is difficult, however, to see how the creation of a sudden and artificial shortage of labour on the Rand can do anything at the present moment except dislocate the gold industry, with unfortunate results all round. The prejudices of the present industrial system are strongly entrenched and the process of breaking them down has scarcely begun. To expect under such circumstances that even 10,000 or 20,000 white men could suddenly be employed as un-

skilled labourers on the gold mines is to lose touch of the actualities of the situation. Two conditions are necessary to bring about the spread of white labour in South Africa : the surrender of the white artizan's prejudice about ' Kafir work ' and his willingness to accept a more modest wage. It seems doubtful, however, whether the Labour Party will lend themselves to any reduction in wages even if the cost of living were more reasonable. Unskilled white labour paid at the skilled rate would more probably be their view of the question. Then again the cost of living itself can only be reduced through an increase in population and the general industrial and agricultural development to which it must give rise. In respect of the present rate of high wages and high cost of living, South African life is indeed like a snake eating its own tail, a vicious circle in which there is perpetual revolution without any progress. Each mutually devours the other until something very like an economic deadlock is arrived at. The backward condition of the country, both as regards agriculture and a host of minor industries, causes a real shortage both of the necessities and amenities of life. It is a very rudimentary economic law that such production as takes place under these circumstances is dear and bad. Until there is a fuller industrial life circulating freely throughout the land this state of affairs must persist, and it is no less obvious that the change can only be effected slowly.

South Africa is the worst country in the world for the scene of heroic ventures. To carry the aims of the White Labour Party into effect it will be necessary to begin with a host of minor experiments in order to familiarise the white population with the idea of unskilled labour and to demonstrate where it can be used.

Certain efforts in this direction have, it must be admitted, proved curiously unsatisfactory. Some years since an experiment was made with a White Labour Colony at Vygeboom in the Caledon district, thirty-five men being selected out of three hundred and fitted for agricultural work. They were paid 3s. a day—twice the rate of wages paid to Kafirs, and their hours of labour were much shorter. The experiment broke down completely, and all the men had left within twelve months. Their demands were impossible; it is said that they clamoured for billiard tables, among other trifles necessary to their comfort and amusement. Matters, however, have improved in this respect as the question of European employment takes firmer hold on popular imagination. It has been shown, for instance, that white unskilled labour can be used successfully in construction works on the Government railways. Over 5000 men are at present employed on the Union lines at an average pay of 4s. or 5s. a day, plus house accommodation. Municipalities again are making experiments in the same sense. There have been failures but also successes in this direction. Naturally such ventures are not sound economically, as they are open to the charge that they have the purse of the community behind them and can bear losses which would incapacitate the private trader. This is true, but in the very peculiar circumstances of South Africa the State would be justified in a temporary economic loss which might result in so great a social gain. The Indigency Commission reported that every effort should be used by the Government to promote agricultural and industrial expansion, and to increase the employment of white labour by showing the way. In agriculture again there is no reason whatever in many parts of the country why a larger

proportion of white labour should not be employed than at present. The disinclination of Europeans for manual labour has allowed all market gardening practically to fall into native and Asiatic hands. This is a field of employment which could certainly be rescued by any hardworking and intelligent group of Europeans. I was shown a small market garden in Bulawayo where an enterprising Scotch family, who dispensed entirely with native labour, made a prosperous living. Each effort of this kind is a breach into the wall of prejudice, and through it the tide of a fuller national life in time will flow.

The attitude adopted by Johannesburg to these questions will be of great importance. So far as the Rand is concerned the provision of better houses for the white employees would go a long way towards encouraging European settlement. If the native question is in a large measure a land question, one comes to realise more and more when travelling through South Africa that the industrial question is largely a housing question. Few things are more unsatisfactory in the country than the class of accommodation provided in the towns for white working men, a point to which I have referred in a previous chapter. The general condition of such accommodation is wholly unfavourable to permanent settlement or domestic life. It is more than unfortunate that throughout the Dominions so little attention is paid in these early stages to certain social questions such as town planning, industrial conditions, &c.—matters, the neglected beginnings of which can only bear bitter fruit hereafter in the establishment of serious evils hard to eradicate. Housing is not a strong point anywhere in South Africa. The native locations are often, as we have seen, disgraceful

hovels of a character which could only be tolerated by a wholly inadequate public opinion. Town planning is *nil*, and houses are run up anyhow with a minimum concern for the general amenities of city life. Despite the high rents which obtain, the houses are small, badly built, and huddled together. With the illimitable veld around them they are rarely provided with gardens. The conditions of decent family life cannot be secured in a country where only two bedrooms, as a general rule, are provided for artisans' dwellings. One mine manager in the Transvaal told me that the cost of building a bungalow with a living-room, two bedrooms, kitchen, pantry, bath room, and verandah—the rooms being about fourteen feet square—is £800. Such a situation calls for individual experiments, conducted by men who are not afraid to make mistakes in working out novel ideas. One such employer has been found in Mr. Raymond Schumacher, Chairman of the Rand Mines, a public-spirited mine-owner, who is making a very interesting housing experiment at Johannesburg with a view to meeting what is admittedly a grave drawback in the existing industrial conditions. A model village is being erected, thanks to his efforts, near the City Deep Mine. The site known as The Hill is 400 acres in extent, and the scheme is ultimately to comprise 1000 houses. Mr. Schumacher's idea is to allot one-third of an acre for each house and garden, and to allow the workman to acquire the freehold on easy terms. The houses are of the bungalow type; the majority of them are to be built, however, with three bedrooms. Even so, their cost of construction seems very high according to English ideas, the average cost per house being between £400 and £500. Another company with which Mr. Schumacher is connected,

namely the Geldenhuis Deep, is also devoting attention to the housing question. A fine stretch of land, 1800 acres in extent, near Doornfontein, situated close to a number of mines and yet remote from tailings and dumps, &c., is to be offered by this firm to their employees for building purposes as soon as water has been proved. The price asked will be about £25 per acre freehold, plus a proportion of cost for obtaining water. The Geldenhuis Company do not propose to erect a model village themselves or to give financial assistance to the men for building purposes. They provide a site on easy terms and lay down certain broad conditions which prospective owners must comply with. Since the adjoining township-owners are asking prices ranging between £800 and £1000 per acre for their land, the modest price of £25 per acre put forward by the Company presents many inducements to the superior artisan anxious to build and to own his house if he can do so on reasonable terms. It is Mr. Schumacher's hope that by schemes such as these for the provision of better houses a more stationary white population may be secured for the Rand, and the constant changes in staff and *personnel*, which at present take place, to some extent be avoided.

This constant shifting of the population, owing to changes in management, is another circumstance which tells against white labour. In his report of the Mines Department for 1912, Mr. Warrington Smyth comments on the general clearances which are unfortunately common among the white employees on many mines, and the hostile effect of these constant changes on the permanency and efficiency of white labour in the country. At present it is a matter of common occurrence that when mine managers and foremen change, similar

changes take place in every other department, and a man may find himself dismissed, however good at his work, at twenty-four hours' notice. Naturally tenure of employment so insecure gives rise to many complaints, and married men, as the Mines Department Reports point out, are loath to bring their wives and children into the country in such circumstances. A man may be working under satisfactory conditions and have made himself a nice home with a garden where he is raising flowers and vegetables. Then comes a change of management and he finds himself adrift, his home broken up, and all the fruits of his labour thrown away. A true spirit of citizenship cannot grow up in a new country under such conditions. However much we may value the functions of the State, apart from good homes and family life the State itself cannot hope to flourish, and it is useless to talk of the spread of white labour when circumstances so detrimental to permanent settlement and family life are allowed to exist unchecked. It is not surprising also in view of these facts that much suspicion and hostility exists between employers and employed. The mollifying influence of the personal factor is almost wholly lacking on the Rand, and the employers who here and there endeavour to get on to personal terms with their workmen find themselves subjected to severe rebuffs. The relations between capital and labour in a country with a shifting population like South Africa are much more difficult than in Great Britain. In our case, at least, masters and men not infrequently have lived alongside each other and have worked together for two or three generations, and the saving grace of human and friendly relationships is known to temper even the worst asperities of industrial strife. Mr. Schumacher's efforts, therefore, are

directed to a most important end, and though he has suffered not a little from the figurative half-bricks which the callous and the thoughtless delight to hurl at new ideas of any kind, he must carry with him in an uphill task the sympathies and support of all public-spirited men in South Africa. Houses built under conditions which make it reasonably possible for the white artisan to acquire the freehold and with it some security of tenure would go a long way to assist and develop white immigration in South Africa. There are many difficulties in connection with housing schemes owing to the complicated conditions which obtain on the Rand as regards proclaimed and unproclaimed land, and the question of the surface rights. But they are difficulties which energy and goodwill could surmount.

As so frequently happens, however, in South Africa, no sooner is the corner of one difficulty turned than another looms in sight. Industrial employment in Johannesburg, both black and white, is confronted with a new and serious trouble—that of miner's phthisis—the extent of which had not till recently been fully realised. The prevalence of phthisis among white underground workmen, due to the inhalation of fine angular dust suspended in the atmosphere, had been known for some time, but the statistics and information which are now available have thrown a most disquieting light on the ravages of the disease. The Mining Regulations Commission appointed in 1907 (which reported finally in 1910) first produced definite statistics as to the serious dangers to which underground workers were exposed as regards pulmonary trouble. This was followed by the Report of the Miner's Phthisis Commission, 1912, which revealed the unwelcome fact that of 3136 underground miners examined, an unexpectedly

high percentage, namely 32 per cent., were phthisical. The examination was conducted in a very thorough way, and the broad deductions drawn from it may be taken unfortunately as representing the conditions existing among the underground population on the Rand. The inhalation of rock dust is the primary and most important cause of this disease. It is well established that phthisis is, in the words of the Report, 'a specific occupational disease amongst metalliferous miners working in hard rock—that this mortality has greatly increased in each locality since the general introduction of rock drills into mining practice, and falls most heavily upon rock-drill miners'; also 'that the objects to be aimed at in all measures to be taken to obviate the incidence of the disease must be to prevent the generation and inhalation of rock dust, to prevent the contamination of the mine air by the fumes of explosives and by respiratory and other impurities, and to control the risk of the spread of tuberculosis infection among miners.' The incidence of the disease is specially high among machine drillers, 48 per cent. of the latter being affected as against 32 per cent. for the general body of miners, and 21 per cent. for those who have never done rock drilling: 50 per cent. of machine drillers are affected after four and a half years' work, and after ten years of underground life approximately 80 per cent. are attacked. No class of underground worker, according to the Report, is free from serious attack; cases of the disease are found in every class. The average duration of underground work amongst those affected is rather over eight years. Of the men examined it was found that 57 per cent. were married men with families, and of this number 84 per cent. had their families resident in South Africa. The

mean age of all the miners examined was 33·12 years. Owing to the shifting population on the Rand the death returns registered in the Transvaal are not an accurate guide to loss of life from miner's phthisis. The dislocation caused by the war has also rendered the collection of accurate data and statistics very difficult. But such facts as emerge are most disquieting. The Mining Regulations Commission, 1910, estimated that among mining and non-mining males, deaths from respiratory disease are six times more common in the one case than the other, an opinion in which the Miner's Phthisis Commission concurred. Serious as is the situation thus revealed, the problem is rendered yet more grave by the fact, now established, that attention devoted merely to the dust created by rock drilling will in no sense meet the evil.

It is clear [as Mr. Warington Smyth states] that on the Witwatersrand mines the atmosphere underground is so permeated with fine mineral dust that everyone working underground is liable to contract miner's phthisis. The prevention problem, therefore, becomes a much larger one than it was originally assumed to be and will have to deal with the general dust in the mines and with dust raised by blasting, which latter is probably the principal factor to be considered.¹

It is clear now that jets of water directed on the drills will not of themselves provide an adequate remedy for the trouble, in view of the hitherto unsuspected fact that all men working underground are liable to the disease. A much more serious difficulty is raised as regards the question of blasting and the fine dust it disseminates throughout the mine. Extensive watering operations are now found to be necessary at the points both of air intake and air outlet of working places where blasting is carried on. Not only the

¹ Report of Mines Department, 1912.

gravity of the complaint, therefore, and its high incidence are now obvious, but the unsuspectedly large area of its operations. Phthisis is at all times a very difficult disease to treat owing to the meticulous care and attention it demands from the patient—qualities in which the average working man is distinctly lacking. The preventive measures are apt to be irksome and are readily shirked by the careless. A Miner's Phthisis Compensation and Insurance Act has been passed by the Union Government, and a Preventive Committee appointed to study the disease and check its inroads. The shifting population on the Rand makes the after history of the cases difficult to trace, but the deaths, the wreckage, ill-health, and loss of working power due to this high incidence of phthisis are very serious matters for the gold-mining industry. At the same time it should be remembered that happily more than half the white employees on the Rand work above ground, and consequently the majority are not exposed to this peril. The figures for 1911, given in the Report of the Mines Department, show that of the total 25,239 white men employed on gold mines 11,490 were underground workers and 13,749 surface workers.¹ The good health of the surface workers is responsible for the general death-rate on the mines (estimated at 18·869 per thousand in 1907 by the Mining Regulations Commission) being relatively low. But this low general death-rate conceals a much higher death-rate, as we have seen, among a limited group. The statistics dealing with the question of miner's phthisis are all most intricate, and great care is necessary to disentangle the high figures relating to a group from the average figures

¹ These figures apply to the Transvaal as a whole and are not strictly confined to the Witwatersrand area.

relating to the health of the industry as a whole. The general health of Johannesburg is good, the death-rate for 1911-1912 amounting only to 13·3 per thousand—a lower rate than that of London, which was 15·0 per thousand for the same period. The phthisis rate for the community as a whole is low, being 0·4 per thousand from all forms of tuberculosis, and 0·54 for miner's phthisis.¹ But naturally the figures assume a different character when applied to underground workers in the mines alone.

It is said that the mine owners have been indifferent to this question of phthisis, and have not exerted themselves as they should have done to set on foot preventive measures. There is no justification, I think, for so sweeping a charge. Industrialism, as we have seen, is a new growth in South Africa, and all the complicated social machinery which safeguards labour conditions in England is practically non-existent. Sanitary, industrial, and health regulations in this country are the product of generations of social effort and study. Alongside of them has grown up a public opinion sensitive about all such matters. It is absurd to expect similar conditions in a town which but yesterday was a mining camp. Even now a large proportion of the Johannesburg population is neither permanent nor settled, and such shallow roots are very inimical to the growth of a healthy community. No town is developing, no industry is working, under desirable conditions, when the aim of so many people is merely to amass money and then depart elsewhere, shaking the dust off their feet. A hard, reckless, indifferent spirit is inevitable under such circumstances. Nobody takes any trouble because nobody has any permanent stake

¹ Report of Medical Officer of Health, Johannesburg, 1911-1912.

in the present or interest in the future. Of that spirit there is still too much in Johannesburg to-day, and it is doubtless responsible for the somewhat inhuman atmosphere to which I have already referred in the relations of capital and labour. The mollifying personal factor in industrial relations is, as we have seen, absent, and the treatment of difficulties is not simplified by that fact. All classes alike have been careless and indifferent up to the present about miner's phthisis because there was no public realisation of its gravity and extent. But it is quite unfair to say that now the facts have come to light the mine owners are not seeking to remedy them. Great efforts are being made at present both by the Industry and the Government to check the disease, but it is impossible not to feel much anxiety as to their power successfully to grapple with the situation. Phthisis is of all diseases the most baffling to combat, and its incidence can prove unexpectedly high under very varying conditions. It is a far cry from the underground workers of the Rand to the open-air quarrymen of Derbyshire working in a district which is one of the leading health resorts of England. Yet Dr. Barwise, Medical Officer for Derbyshire, has shown that in the districts of Darley Dale and Matlock the phthisis death-rate among stone workers is 7 per thousand, and as high as 13·7 per thousand among the gritstone workers, whereas in the same county the phthisis death-rate among coal miners is only ·68 per thousand, and among persons employed in agriculture ·66 per thousand. I mention these figures as showing the special dangers in the matter of phthisis attached to any exposure to the dust of hard rock ; and hard rock, as we have seen, is the inevitable condition of all gold mining on the Rand.

Serious though these circumstances are for the European worker, his dangers do not exhaust by any means all the potentialities of trouble in this direction. What havoc, we many wonder, is caused among the native boys who come to work at Johannesburg for twelve or eighteen months and return to their kraals carrying with them, in all probability, the seeds of this fell disease throughout the sub-continent? No statistics on this subject so far are available, but the liability of Kafirs to disease, and pulmonary disease in particular, is an unhappy commonplace of native employment in the mines, though here again great, and in a large measure successful, efforts have been made to reduce the mortality. In 1903-1904 the total native death-rate on the mines was 59·11 per thousand, and in 1904-1905 it had reached the terrible total of 130 per thousand for tropical natives. In 1912 it was the lowest on record, being 22·6 per thousand for all natives, and 47·6 per thousand for natives north of latitude 22, as against 64·8 per cent. in 1911, a change due to increased sanitary and medical care. Much has been done, but much still remains to be done, in the improvement of labour conditions. Recruiting north of latitude 22 is now very properly prohibited owing to the high mortality among native boys from these tropical districts. Many of the 'tropicals,' as they are called, reach Johannesburg in a weak, diseased state before there is any question of their commencing work. Natives from the warmer belts to the north suffer severely from the high altitude and relatively cold climate of Johannesburg, and the prohibition of recruiting north of latitude 22 is in every respect a desirable measure.

This liability to disease and the high mortality on the Rand present yet another aspect of the industrial

contact between black and white in South Africa which calls for most serious consideration. It is but another proof of the difficulties with which the whole subject is surrounded and the unexpected obstacles besetting industrial progress. The Rand, as we have seen, is the industrial key of the country, but the high rate of mortality among native workers tends to upset all calculations as regards the latter's economic position, whereas the no less high incidence of phthisis among the white mining population has a most prejudicial influence on the permanent settlement of European artisans in the country. On the possibility of that settlement and its capacity widely to increase its scope, the spread of white labour largely depends. But here, as elsewhere, South Africa does not lend herself kindly to sweeping schemes of change nor ideal counsels of perfection. The last word in the industrial relations between her black and white populations is far from having been spoken. How many are the perplexities that relationship presents, the present chapter may in some degree have served to indicate. One reservation, however, must be made as regards an important point about which much careless affirmation may be heard. To speak of South Africa as a white man's country, in the same sense as Australia or Canada, is a misuse of words. These countries are not confronted with the problem of a preponderating native population, a circumstance which wholly invalidates any parallel with the other great dominions. South African problems must be approached from the standpoint of a bi-racial community in which the preponderating numbers are likely to remain black. But the proportion of white to black could, and should, be substantially increased, through such changes as we have considered. Other-

wise a shrinkage even in the present numbers of the white race is inevitable, and they will drift more and more into the position of a governing caste. The presence of the native in industry has to be reckoned with, and here, as elsewhere, there is no alternative but to make the best of a fundamental condition. So far as the industrial contact of black and white is concerned, we find that, like the social contact, the peril lies in the degradation of the native, the hope of the future in his increased capacity and powers of work and citizenship.

NOTE.—The above chapter was written before the fierce industrial riots on the Rand early in July took aback South Africa and Europe alike. The detailed causes of this outbreak, which are to be investigated by a Commission, will not be forthcoming before this volume is published. At the moment of writing it is difficult to estimate the real nature of the riots or the causes which gave rise to them. But the intensity of bad feeling revealed by this outbreak proves the truth of what has been said in the foregoing pages about the thoroughly unsatisfactory conditions of industrial life at Johannesburg, and the grave doubts to which it gives rise viewed from the standpoint of the needs of a stable society.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE POLITICAL CONTACT

A race's life is an organic growth ; it is not like a dead platform that we can safely build our houses over or our walls about ; it is a living thing. You can force it back and can lay it prostrate, but when you have driven it even underground, it will reappear. Its living roots, its secret and extending tentacles of growth, will search beneath the familiar soil, will find their way below the foundations of your wall, will come up upon the outer side—intertwined with your own growth, blended with your stock, and terrible in their confusions and their fruitage. No ; build your walls if you will, but give to this race also a garden of noble spaces ; build your walls high in self-protection, but rear them as no dungeon above another life. Let its growth have also its own sunshine, light from the same sun, nurture from the same air and the same rains ; let all wise and pure conspiracies advance it. Its liberation will mean, not its encroachment, but its self-fulfilment. Force it downward into degeneracy and abasement, and, having no garden and no sunshine of its own, its pervasive and intruding death will seek you out. Your sounder health depends less upon its repression than upon its freedom.

EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY.

THE point of view from which the relations of black and white have been regarded in the four previous chapters is not a popular one in South Africa. There is, of course, no novelty about the opinions expressed. They force themselves on the attention of thinking men and women in any country where this great and difficult problem exists. When for better or worse a higher and a lower race are flung together, the points of contact, as we have seen, are bound to produce situations of a most baffling character. No such rela-

tionship can be ideal, because the ideal relationships of life are between peers ; and where questions of superiority and inferiority inevitably are raised, where there cannot be the fullest and freest exchange of sympathy, affection, and ideas, the ideal relationship vanishes. The question then arises as to how these contacts may be made as little injurious as possible. We cannot hope or look for any counsel of perfection ; such accommodations as are arrived at will be at the best but rough and ready. Experiments are necessarily tentative ; they are not likely to be logical ; they will often prove unsatisfactory. But broadly speaking, as we have seen, the situation can be viewed from two standpoints : that of repression and that of construction. It should be made clear that followers of the latter school are not inspired by any foolish or unreal sentimentality. They are often driven to the position they hold because forced to realise through practical experience that repressive measures break down and cannot be relied upon to reach the end they set out to attain. To imagine that a system of even the most benevolent autocracy can deal permanently with the native question is to take a short view. As we have seen, this question is not only a South African one, it is confronting civilisation all over the world ; it is bound to grow in difficulty and magnitude ; it is calculated to tax the resources of the most constructive statesmanship to a degree unknown before in history. The greater, therefore, the need for clear thinking on the whole subject and for an appreciation of the issues involved. The diplomacy of Japan is already proving to the world that an Asiatic nation, which has won its way into the rank of world Powers, will not tolerate humiliating restrictions for its subjects in the matter of racial bars and colour disqualifications.

And the process initiated in Japan is bound to grow and gather weight wherever this particular racial situation arises. Everywhere the test of citizenship is bound to rest, and rest increasingly, on civilisation, not colour. For us it will be well if, at this stage of the proceedings, the old moral of the Sibylline books is laid to heart. We cannot afford to make mistakes in a matter which is likely to prove the touchstone of the whole future of the Empire. Blunders of course there must be, they are the condition of all human effort, but at least we can see that they do not belong to that paralysing class of mistakes which spring from indolence and ill will.

The South African difficulty is for the moment far less complicated than the Asiatic one. The low degree of aboriginal civilisation arrived at by the negroid races makes them easier to handle from the point of view of government than the Asiatic. As the negro or the Kafir rise in the scale of civilisation, the standards of excellence which they set before themselves are European, and the ideals to which they endeavour to approximate their lives are ours. It is accordingly along our line of development that they are content to work, however much they may straggle by the way. The system which suits us will, in the long run, and broadly speaking, suit them. There can be, I think, no question that the relationship in government of the European with the Asiatic is rendered incomparably more difficult from the very fact that the Asiatic already possesses a civilisation as highly organised in its way as ours, but a civilisation which clashes at every point with European methods of thought and action. The Oriental views the whole question of material prosperity, for instance, so differently from the Englishman, that it is difficult to find a common

term between them. For this reason it must be admitted that Asiatic industrial competition will always be a more formidable matter for the white races than competition from the Kafir, however educated. The Asiatic brings a greater intelligence to the task, and an entire refusal to devote the fruits of his labours to such luxuries and rewards as are common among Europeans. He is, in some respects, 'other worldly' to a degree absolutely distracting and incomprehensible to the capable, practical business mind of the Englishman. It is to the advantage of South Africa that the much less developed native races with whom we are brought in contact, in the absence of any particular standard of their own, are willing and anxious to adopt ours. The discrepancies in the social order, great though they are bound to be, are likely to prove less insurmountable therefore in the one case than in the other. More than any other condition, as we have seen all along, a generous morality is essential as a guide to practical policies; a recognition that humanity, whatever the colour of its skin, has its rights, and that there is a dignity even in the weaker manhoods that we should seek to develop and respect. The very superiority of the great governing white races is in itself a talent and a trust; the very inferiority of those they rule, an appeal to that chivalry and generosity which are the true fruit and flower of strength.

We have seen that as regards both social and industrial contact between black and white there is far less to fear from a liberal than from a repressive policy. The ferment of education and of new ideas sweeping all over the world has in turn swept the black and coloured races into the stream of modern thought and roused them to an uneasy awakening. The process is bound to continue; there is no possibility of checking it. We

may, as I have said, hold aloof from it and allow this development to take place on crude, violent, hostile lines, creating a bitterness of spirit thereby which will in time menace the very foundations of society; or we may stretch out generous hands to the coloured races in their weakness and impotence, and help them to find themselves—to find themselves on terms which, without merging the streams of racial consciousness, may cause both streams to flow in broad and fruitful channels. This we must do or be prepared for the alternative, namely the damming of a mill race which in time will burst bank and dyke alike in devastating confusion. The higher altruism in the long run will prove the wiser course. We must turn a deaf ear to the old, selfish, nervous cry that to educate and civilise the native races of the world is to precipitate our own destruction. We must listen rather to the eternal truth and wisdom of the words which bids a man lose his life and thereby the more effectually save it.

And yet—and this I cannot repeat too often or too strongly—to adopt this attitude is not to urge that at the present time in South Africa—orelsewhere—wholesale political rights should be granted to black and coloured men, the large majority of whom are quite unfitted for them. It is little short of criminal to imagine that to toss a vote to an ignorant native is henceforth to be relieved of all responsibility towards and about him. The whole point of the long argument I have endeavoured to set forth is that in a great many respects democratic institutions, as we understand them, are quite unfitted for the native in his present transitional stage. Everything depends, however, upon the spirit in which certain proposed modifications of democratic practice in respect of the native are put forward. If such modifications

are but thinly veiled attempts to rob him of his vote and political rights in order artificially to protect the white man, the situation remains in its old paralysing condition of deadlock. But where public opinion is really humane and fair, and men are seeking for solutions in a spirit, not of hardness and prerogative but of disinterested effort, very considerable modifications of democratic practice can then be made with advantage to the community as a whole.

One of the worst evils of the school of repression is that it creates a situation which can only be dealt with by rigid methods of government, whereas flexibility is the first condition of successful native administration. When thinly veiled efforts are set on foot to exploit the native, one section of public opinion will always be roused, and the Imperial Government becomes as restive as the chorus in a Greek play. The atmosphere so created is mischievous all round, and there is nothing for it but to adhere to the strict letter of an often unsuitable law because there is no alternative, in the lack of an adequate public opinion, which may be relied upon to safeguard those just rights which the native may claim from us—rights, be it noted, suited to his own needs, not necessarily rights suited to ours. We shall always find in the long run that the best interests of black and white cannot really be separated in a land where they live side by side, and that the path of honour for the one must be the path of peace for the other.

Segregationists like Mr. Maurice Evans are of opinion that only by a complete separation of the two races can each develop on worthy lines, and that we should seek to work out our practical policies on that principle. I have already expressed my belief that whether or not desirable theoretically, the actual social and economic

conditions of South Africa render any such scheme of separation an impossibility. Black and white are scattered together all over the country, and no one proposes that the black man should not be at liberty to work for the white man. He is to come to our towns and industrial centres and absorb all that is worst in our civilisation, but he is to be warded off from any other contact with us. I do not know how segregationists propose to deal with the political rights of the educated natives, but presumably they would have rights of self-government in the reserved native areas. Where these new areas are to be created is a question to which the map of South Africa at present affords no reply. 'Create a great black area in Northern Rhodesia,' says one, a proposal about which it would be interesting to hear the views of the Chartered Company; 'Put them in the Bush Veld' says another, and the Transvaal hastily disclaims any possibility of welcoming such neighbours even in its most hot and unhealthy districts; 'Put them in the Bechuanaland Protectorate,' says a third, and the Imperial Government politely remarks that the general fertility of that district would hardly justify the encouragement of any wholesale schemes of immigration. So it goes on. The whole subject is allowed to drift, while few men have the courage frankly to face the situation and realise that whatever the merits of segregation as a half-way house, segregation can never be a final solution of the position of the educated native. It is impossible to rear the Commonwealth on two separate sets of foundations. It rests on a basis of civilisation, and men who are qualified under the test of civilisation cannot be excluded from its life. Once that fact is accepted frankly and freely, once the native realises that though the way may be difficult

yet the door is left open, then we can turn our attention usefully to the evolution of a system in which such novel elements can be accommodated without peril to the welfare of the whole.

We saw in Chapter XV what is the actual status of the native in the different South African provinces, and that the question of native franchise was left *in statu quo* by the National Convention. The present compromise may persist, as I remarked, for a long time, but sooner or later it is bound to break down as the natives grow in wealth and intelligence in other parts of the country besides the Cape Province. The fear which haunts many South Africans of a swamping of the white vote by the black and coloured vote is both intelligible and justifiable. No white race can be expected to contemplate with equanimity, under a system of responsible government, that the balance of electoral power should pass from their hands into those of men but recently emerged from savagery. To do so is to run unnecessary risks with the foundations of society. The experience of the Southern States shows that no white race will tolerate such a situation, and that where political rights are thrust on black men long before they are fit for the exercise of such prerogatives, the white race will by fair means or foul keep the power in its own hands and thus safeguard its political institutions. There can be no difference of opinion among sensible men that the native should be excluded from political privileges until he has given some real proof of his power to use them wisely. Any other course is unfair to himself—a fact not always remembered by some of the less wise of his friends. He becomes at the worst an object of the crudest political exploitation, at the best a laughing-stock which discredits the very name of democracy. Democracy

cannot wash its hands of him by the gift of a vote and the regulation of a little political patter. Democracy, to those of us who believe in it, is a spirit rather than a system. It is a fatal mistake to seek to stereotype its condition for all ages and circumstances. We must be content over and over again to work out new systems in the light of new experience, and to avoid the intellectual sloth which acquiesces in the thought of the past without seeking to make any contribution to the thought of the present.

Is it possible in South Africa to arrive at any sort of plan which will adjust the political relations of black and white on lines less uneasy than those which at present obtain? We have seen in the two preceding chapters that the white race, if it takes a long view of the health of the State, will assist and not discourage civilising influences for the native. But if every encouragement is to be given to him to improve his position, both as a man and a workman, obviously his claim as a citizen must follow in due course. Are we prepared to recognise that claim; and if so, in what way?

A very elementary study of native affairs in South Africa drives home the conclusion that no one system can possibly meet all the difficulties of the situation. We are dealing with barbarians at one end of the scale and with educated men at the other. Roughly speaking, the elements concerned range themselves into three large groups, each requiring totally different treatment. There is first the raw savage, for whom good personal government is the only possible system; there is next the native of the transition stage, the man who has learnt to read and write and may possibly have come under Christian influences. He is neither wholly savage nor wholly civilised, and for him political segregation of the

Glen Grey type, with areas of local self-government, is a very good plan. Finally we have the civilised and educated native living under European law and conforming in all respects to European standards. From this man political privileges of the European type cannot be withheld, though in view of the recent date at which he has emerged from barbarism we have a right to exact an adequate test from him as to his fitness for citizenship.

It is not possible to consider the problems of these three groups without realising how profoundly the needs of the black man differ at times from those of the white; and also how impossible it is, so far as government is concerned, to force them all into the same mould. Specialisation and differentiation are required all along the line. Good paternal government is a form of administration for which the Anglo-Saxon race has shown a special genius. Slow, unimaginative race though we may be, nevertheless it is our special pride to have reared up a type of native administrator who, all over the world, has made the *Lex Britannica* intelligible to subject races. This has been done in the main through two great qualities—truth and justice. In this first and easiest stage of contact the personal equation of the native administrator is the all-important factor. When it is satisfactory, the less he is hampered by administrative regulations the better. Bureaucratic rule and red tape may irritate the European; they dumbfound the native, to whom they are absolutely incomprehensible.

The Natal Native Affairs Commission of 1906–1907, which examined with such admirable candour the causes of the Natal Rebellion, stated emphatically that the natives in this particular province were over-

administered and ignorant of many of the laws affecting them. We are apt to complain of the various ways in which the presence of the native is inconvenient to ourselves. We show less imagination in trying to realise in what ways our presence may inconvenience him. It is easy to talk of our great governing mission to weaker races, who are at the best disorganised children, a task which to our credit we always recognise when we establish ourselves among an alien people. But as Sir Sidney Olivier again remarks with the same dry humour which characterises his book, 'the white man does not come to the black treating him as a child. He either comes to him setting up an industrial relation and calling for him as a labourer, or setting up a State and calling on him for taxes.' We come into his country seeking our benefit, not his; our motive is commerce, expansion, self-interest, not altruism. And though there are many evils, such as plague, war, and famine, which we check and control, others of a more insidious character are bound to follow our advent. The disintegration of family and tribal life, which results from the presence of the white man, fills the native partly with recklessness, partly with despair. The rough-and-ready systems of government he has known crumble before his eyes, and in their place a remote, unsympathetic, incomprehensible force is established which harasses him in various ways. New laws, new restrictions, new demands for rent and labour and taxation, perplex and confound him. With patience and trouble these measures, if just, can be explained to him, but where the personal explanation is lacking the case of the native is indeed parlous. The very evils from which we save him had their joyous side, such as war and slaughter, and he finds it not a little hard to be cut

off from excitements of this kind. The seat of authority from whence these demands spring commands neither his understanding nor his respect. Abstract conceptions of government lie beyond his ken ; all that he can grasp is the personality of the men who are responsible for carrying out changes so strange and so unwelcome. Hence, as the Commissioners pointed out, a growing chasm between the races, combined with an attitude on the native side of distance and distrust. The breakdown of the tribal system is commonly lamented in South Africa, but the passing of the tribal system is inevitable with the spread of European settlement. It is bound up with some of the worst and most demoralising of native customs, and however gradual the change, it is generally recognised that the old order cannot be maintained on its present lines. But as it breaks down it is essential to remember that for a long time to come any system which replaces it must reckon carefully with the feudalistic traditions on which native social life has been built up, and above all with the factor of personal influence personified in the chief. That is to say the new system must be moulded on what was best and most helpful in the old. No sweeping changes in the tribal system are contemplated in South Africa ; the process of silent disintegration is being carried on rapidly enough. But as the power of the chief wanes that of the native commissioner will grow, since for many years to come the native, to be successfully governed, must be brought in contact with a personal influence as real as that of his former rulers, but an influence it must be hoped of an altogether higher type. It is to this personal and sympathetic influence of the European officials that we must look to carry the native through the difficult

period of transition. His future turns on vesting it in the hands of men whose standards and methods will lead him little by little to a new conception of himself and the social order to which he belongs. It is on this element of personal rule that the Natal Commissioners insist over and over again in the course of their remarkable Report, and their opinion in this respect will be upheld by every student of the question.

The first business, therefore, of a vigilant Government who are seeking the welfare of the native races under their rule is to secure men of high character, capacity, and sympathy for all posts concerned with native administration. Such men must be just, humane, courteous, accessible. They exist in large numbers in South Africa, and the peace of vast coloured areas in different parts of the country is in a large measure the work of their hands. Harsh judgments of the native seldom proceed, so far as my experience goes, from the native commissioners. The accusation too often brought against them is that they 'think native,' which means that their minds are not weighted with the prejudices of the heedless and the ignorant. They know their subject and they know their men, and their views seldom coincide with those of the baser adherents of the school of repression.

One change in native administration is very desirable, though it is a change repugnant, if not actually alarming, to the sense of the average Englishman. There can be no question whatever that so far as dealing with native crime is concerned our whole judicial system is out of place. The forms of trial which we use, and rightly use, in dealing with white men are often inadequate and incomprehensible when dealing with the black. It is one of the points where we require to depart from

the letter of democratic usage in order to achieve its spirit. The native requires something far more direct and simple than the English methods of prosecution and defence. Our law of evidence, as applied to cases of Kafir crime, murder, and witchcraft, is wholly inadequate. Many a ruffian escapes on a technicality, especially in the difficult cases where witchcraft is concerned. The criminal returns to his kraal, where the facts are perfectly well known, and his position is stronger than before, inasmuch as he brags openly that he has cast a spell over the court and is free, thanks to the power of his magic. In the Pretoria district it is known that children have been murdered in pursuance of the blackest rites of witchcraft, and yet the murderers escape scot-free under the present system.

So far as crime is concerned, the native mind moves on planes where European systems of law cannot possibly follow it. When I was in Bulawayo seven men were charged with the murder of an old woman whom they had taken and deliberately beaten to death. They made neither apology nor excuse for their conduct; the woman was a witch, so they said, and had been the death of some of them already—would have been the death of them all if they had not cut her career short. It was quite impossible to make them believe that their action was other than meritorious and in the public interest. The murderers were condemned to death with a strong recommendation to mercy. Obviously there could be no question of capital punishment in such a case. But the incident is instructive as showing that justice for the native may be hampered, not promoted, by rigid adherence to those legal forms which were evolved under different climes and for other civilisations.

Simple, direct personal rule—such is the need of the

native in his aboriginal state. That condition, however, is passing daily, for the growth of education, to which I have repeatedly referred, is transforming the whole situation and is stirring the native consciousness to an extraordinary degree. The transition stage between savage custom and civilised practice is better provided for under the Glen Grey system than any other.

The Glen Grey Act propounds a system of local self-government in native areas where the progress of the population justifies the experiment of associating them with the management of their own affairs. The Act provides for a system of allotments held under individual tenure, and the establishment of district councils with local rating powers which are responsible for education, the construction of bridges, roads, &c., and other local matters within the area. Eighteen such District Councils at present exist in the Transkei, as well as a General Council which is the governing body for the whole area. Experience has led to certain modifications both of the system of tenure and entail, and also of the actual management of the councils. But the broad principles of the measure are firmly established in South Africa to-day, and are universally regarded as admirably adapted to the end in view. The communal system of land tenure among natives which characterises the tribal system is wasteful and unproductive, and provides no incitement to individual effort. Individual tenure gives the native a more direct and personal interest in agriculture, and develops his sense of responsibility. The District Council and the General Council are under the direction of European officials, but on such boards the native is provided with an outline of civilised administration, and learns, so to speak, the rules of the game. The peace and

order of these large Transkeian districts are the best testimony to the success of a system which is one of the greatest memorials to the genius of Cecil Rhodes. The introduction of Glen Grey methods, both in Natal and Rhodesia, are developments earnestly to be desired in the near future. It is true, as pointed out by the writers of 'The South African Natives,' that the Cape Province has been in a better position to deal with this question than Natal, inasmuch as the bulk of its native population is accidentally segregated in the Eastern districts at a long distance from the big centres of European population. In Natal, on the other hand, large native areas are in close proximity to the towns, a circumstance which complicates the relations of black and white to a serious degree. But the old moral crops up here, as elsewhere—leave the native to struggle on alone without help and guidance, and he becomes far more perilous as a neighbour than when he is being taught the elements of civilisation and self-respect.

Under the Glen Grey system natives do not exercise the franchise, a circumstance which excites criticism in certain quarters. The whole question of electoral rights bristles with difficulty, and *solvitur ambulando* is the only principle which can be applied to them. Here again we must look to the spirit rather than to the letter of the law. Where natives are being trained and civilised under the Glen Grey or some kindred system, where administration is being carried on with a view to their welfare, broadly speaking I for one do not feel that the restriction of the franchise is a real grievance. The more thoughtful and educated natives must appreciate the very natural reservations on the part of the white man to any wholesale

admissions of a black race to the franchise. This is, after all, to reap in a field where the native has neither sowed nor tilled; to acquire the fruits of civilisation without the long disciplinary processes through which the white democracies have passed. Whatever the future may hold, for the present the white man must rule. He alone is strong enough to battle with the situation. The whole difficult point of discriminating against a respectable native and yet allowing a worthless white to vote, turns on the different hereditary values which each brings to the situation. Behind the worthless white stand nevertheless the accumulated civilising influences of centuries; behind the respectable native, the accumulated influences of centuries of barbarism. It is only, therefore, little by little that this new element can be absorbed safely into the white commonwealths. It is at this point that we are justified in demanding from the native a real test of fitness and capacity before we call him to our councils. To give him at this stage of the proceedings any sort of preponderating influence in them would be as undesirable for him as for us.

This brings us to the third class of natives, those who have parted with the last remnants of the old barbarous life so far as its outer framework is concerned—men of education who are living under European law and according to civilised standards. The mixed property and educational qualification in the Cape Province can be easily complied with by an intelligent native, and though certain natives are not only educated but highly educated, it is impossible not to feel that, as time goes on, a class of quite unsuitable voters may be created who nevertheless can hold house property to the value of £75, be in receipt of a salary of £50, and achieve a little dictation and reading.

That many semi, or indeed quarter, civilised natives are at present enfranchised in the Cape Province under this plan is indisputable. It may be said that many of the poor whites are no better qualified, and may be less desirable as citizens, but for the reasons already stated it may be claimed that the poor white starts from a different standpoint. If this objection as regards the poor white is pursued to its logical conclusion, the question of the native vote is left in hopeless confusion. Common sense, not logic, is necessary to meet the point, and common sense justifies the adoption of a special standard of fitness in the case of the native.

One fact becomes obvious when one is dealing with the franchise regulations of a mixed population in varying degrees of civilisation. Whatever the merits of one man one vote as a principle applied to great white democracies, the same principle is not desirable when applied to such conditions as exist in South Africa. The experience of the Southern States in this respect points in the same direction. Universal franchise and the celebrated 'fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution' broke down completely as applied to black and white alike, and by a series of devices the existing electoral system in the negro districts is safeguarded by both property and educational restrictions. A property qualification is of course repugnant to the sense of many English people, to whom manhood is the basis of franchise. I can only repeat we must adopt such methods as most truly attain the end in view, namely the liberty and self-expression of the individual. Where the conditions are novel and difficult we must be prepared to recognise that the principle, and the sound principle, of one land may be the hindrance of another. Manhood suffrage is clearly

impossible for the black man ; to adopt it is only to involve the whole democratic principle in hopeless confusion and widen the cleavage between the two races. Nothing is more cruel than to give the native an abstract privilege and then adopt every possible means to see that he does not use it. Such a process is demoralising and embittering for black and white alike. For this reason it is impossible not to regret that the electoral situation, both in the Transvaal and Free State, was complicated, as unquestionably it has been complicated, by the establishment of manhood suffrage on the grant of self-government. This was done, no doubt, to bring the new order in line with the old system of the Republics under which every full-grown man was a burgher. For the moment no difficulty arises ; but whenever the question of the electoral status of the native has to be faced by the Union Parliament—and this must arise sooner or later—manhood franchise in the Transvaal and Free State will prove a great stumbling-block in the way of any attempted adjustment. It is always a mistake to dot the ‘i’s’ and cross the ‘t’s’ of any difficult situation too vigorously. True statesmanship lies in fitting the black and coloured vote into our system without too much friction for the Europeans and without emphasising disabilities too forcibly for the native. And for this reason a property, and above all an educational, qualification becomes essential.

There are two ways by which the native vote could be dealt with in South Africa. The one is by following the present Cape system, *plus* a more definite test, in the case of the native or coloured man, that such a voter is really living according to civilised standards. It would not be easy to devise such a

test, which probably would require a judicial tribunal before whom the native would be called upon to make good his claim for citizenship. This is the method suggested by Lord Selborne in his address to the Cape University, to which reference has already been made in Chapter XIV, and on the whole it seems the best plan available. It may be urged that such tests are harsh and discriminating, to which I can only reply that discrimination is necessary and need not be harsh. Everything obviously depends on the spirit in which such discrimination is carried out. Even a difficult test, so long as it is fair and honest and administered in a just and generous spirit, should prove less daunting to native ambition and less wounding to native pride than the grant of unreal privileges, which by one device or another he is not allowed to enjoy. In the one case he knows that to prove his capacity is to win an honourable reward frankly granted; in the other, whatever his merits, he is always haunted by the fear that some effort may be made to rob him of the fruits of his labours. Any electoral system which, as between black and white, is bound to lead to trickery, is the system of all others to avoid. It is a sham, and a sham which creates exceeding bitterness. But such a situation is bound to arise when votes are granted in a haphazard manner to natives. The end in view is to see the native happy, free, self-respecting, developing his powers of intelligence, independence, and citizenship. He may possess a vote and have none of these realities. But on the other hand such realities may be achieved for him outside the parliamentary franchise.

The second method for dealing with the native vote is to divide the country into so many coloured constituencies returning special members, and give the

black man votes in these areas alone. This is the system recommended by the Native Affairs Commission of 1905, and a recommendation coming from such a body must have much weight. Unquestionably such a plan of electoral segregation avoids many of the most undesirable forms of political contact between black and white. The native votes in his own constituencies and for his own candidates, and he is not flung into any sort of general electoral competition with the Europeans. Very unsatisfactory features prior to Union had already developed in the eastern districts of the Cape Province where, as the Commissioners pointed out, the native vote controlled the situation in no fewer than seven constituencies. No one will pretend that the spectacle of European candidates going cap in hand suing for the native vote is other than most unedifying. It leads to a great spirit of rivalry and antagonism in all districts where the native vote is powerful, and such a process, if it were to spread over the country, would produce in time an intolerable situation. On the other hand the system of separate voting is an unsatisfactory one in many respects for the native. The number of seats allotted for such purposes would be very small and the constituencies of unwieldy size. The native voice could make itself heard through such a channel but its practical influence on public affairs would be *nil*. Nevertheless the 1905 Commissioners were of opinion that this plan would avoid racial strife and would free all questions affecting the progress of the natives from considerations consequent on their increase in political power—the point on which so much of friction and jealousy turns. They held that the establishment of a uniform political status for the native throughout South Africa

would be a great gain, and that it would lead to a direct and continuous exchange of views in Parliament on native questions.

Whatever the merits or demerits of this plan, it did not carry the assent of the National Convention prior to Union, which, as we have seen, left the matter *in statu quo*. But the question will have to be faced in a not remote future, and the harsh doctrines of the school of repression will not solve the political status of the native any more than they can solve the other social and industrial contacts already considered. South Africa for the moment has not adopted Cecil Rhodes's view of 'equal rights for all civilised men.' The whole atmosphere will clear whenever she feels able to apply that principle with consistency to her political concerns. The native has to be fitted in somewhere, either on the lines of separate constituencies or on those of an adequate test as a voter in ordinary constituencies. Whatever efforts are made, none is likely at present to be final. Separate voting may form a useful bridge at one period; a genuine test of civilisation as an ordinary voter, at another. The situation is changing so rapidly, the developments are so marked, that the desirable policy of to-day is antiquated and mischievous to-morrow. We cannot stereotype any system or any method. Neither need we imagine that having made a great effort to devise a plan suitable at one moment, we can henceforth go to sleep on both ears and give the matter no further thought. Constant vigilance, constant care, last but not least an attitude of mind not only sympathetic but receptive to fresh ideas—these are the essentials of the situation so far as the white race is concerned.

A suggestion has been put forward for one great

administrative change which has much to commend it. Many authorities in South Africa, including Mr. Evans, advocate the creation of a Permanent Board for Native Affairs, to which Parliament should delegate a large measure of its powers. This Board would be composed of members and officials selected for their special knowledge of native affairs, men of high character, practical experience, and proved administrative capacity. Such a body would not only be in a position to revise the existing Code of Native Law—a very necessary proceeding—and to deal with general administrative matters; it would also have very important functions as regards legislation. One of the most undesirable circumstances which can arise in South Africa is that native affairs should become any sort of pawn in the party game. It is idle to shut one's eyes to the fact that this process is in evolution at the present time. The land interest, the liquor interest, the mining interest, among many others, are all concerned with the native, and the placating of great interests in one form or another is a severe temptation for any government. Uniformity and continuity in administration are specially necessary when dealing with natives; any sort of chopping and changing as regards policy—often an inevitable consequence of the fluctuations of party government—bewilders and unsettles them. The situation becomes still worse when their direct interests may be sacrificed owing to party exigencies. The more personal and continuous direction of a Native Board in close touch with their needs would have a very steadying effect on the tribal and semi-tribal natives throughout the country, and it would prove a channel through which the ideas and aspirations of the more educated natives

could find expression. As regards legislation, it would be the duty of the proposed Board to subject any measures for dealing with native affairs to close scrutiny and examination and report thereon to Parliament, and similarly to initiate legislative proposals. Such a proceeding would avoid the danger of sudden legislation being sprung on the native or slipped through Parliament without adequate discussion. It would also make for that greater personal element in native administration which, we have seen, is essential to success. That remote entity the Minister, who appears and disappears in so incomprehensible a manner, would be replaced by a more direct and intelligible authority ; one, too, whose permanency would reassure the native mind. Matters for which Parliament has no time could be dealt with carefully and thoroughly by such a Board, to whose duties it would fall to render the whole system of native administration far more elastic than it is at present. Conditions vary so greatly that a variety of policies is required to meet them. Ideally the country should be divided up into administrative districts of different sizes with policies adapted to the varying types of civilisation reached by the natives. Better progress could be made if greater flexibility were introduced, and the bureaucratic administration of a department replaced by more personal methods. Such a scheme would not abrogate the sovereign power of Parliament ; but by the delegation of these duties the whole question of native administration would be raised on to a higher and more efficient plane. Many causes of friction, too, between the races might be avoided by the tact and vigilance of such a Board, one of whose duties of course would be to keep in touch with all aspects of public opinion on native questions.

The present troubled condition of political affairs in South Africa is a very unfortunate circumstance in view of the great and growing gravity of the native question. The absurdity of General Hertzog's grotesque theory about the two streams, so far as English and Dutch are concerned, is never more apparent than when we approach the problem of black and white. Strife between the European races indeed assumes a fratricidal aspect when we remember the common task in this respect with which they are confronted. It will not be easy to the average Boer to adopt a constructive attitude towards the native. His whole standpoint is apt to be harsh and repressive, and he makes little count of any abstract rights of man. But among the English in South Africa, as indeed throughout the Empire, a new school of thought is springing up about native questions—a school at once politic and humane. Among the States of the Empire Cape Colony will always rank high for the liberal and enlightened policy she pursued at a time when the true wisdom of such a policy was little understood. Much will turn in the Union Government on the degree to which the spirit of the South succeeds or fails to succeed in leavening the crude spirit of the North. If South Africa as a whole, Dutch as well as English, is won round eventually to the more constructive view of native affairs, a change so vast and so far-reaching would be worth the price almost of the South African war itself.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ASIATIC DIFFICULTY

All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter. We balance inconveniences; we give and take; we remit some rights, that we may enjoy others; and we choose rather to be happy citizens, than subtle disputants. As we must give away some natural liberty to enjoy civil advantages; so we must sacrifice some civil liberties, for the advantages to be derived from the communion and fellowship of a great Empire.

BURKE.

THE status of the British Indian within the South African Union is a very interesting by-product of those larger racial problems which determine the social outlook of the country. It is no less interesting for the flood of light it throws on the ethics of Imperial responsibility. This question of the political status of the coloured races within the Empire is a touchstone on which great issues are going to turn. It is one which invests the whole Imperial relationship in a novel and, to some people, a perturbing light. In drawing attention to the importance of colour questions and the part they are likely to play in the future of the British race I do not, of course, underrate the magnitude of other aspects of the Imperial relationship. The British Empire is infinite, not only in its variety, but in the complexity of the problems to which it gives rise. But we have all a tendency to speak of the

Empire as though it were concerned merely with the self-government of white men or the paternal government of subject races. In both respects the arrival of the educated native throws a new counter on to the board, which disorganises all the old-established rules of the game. With this new counter we have not as yet learnt sufficiently to reckon, though it must enter into every calculation as regards defence, trade, organic union, &c.

So far as the Asiatic in South Africa is concerned, not the least striking aspect of the situation is the curious companionship into which it throws persons who on other subjects are poles apart. Over this question the Back Velder and the extreme Jingo have a knack of falling into each other's arms. It is only fair to General Hertzog to remark that he is not unique in his 'in and out' view of the Empire—an institution to be made use of when convenient and repudiated when inconvenient. This parochial view of national life crops out very frequently among people to whom the pomp of the Empire is pleasant and desirable, but the obligations of the Empire are apt to be irksome. Flag waving or the chaunting of patriotic songs is a task which makes few demands on any person's powers of intelligence, let alone those of discipline and citizenship. To drift without personal effort of any kind on the stream of a great Imperial life, the channels of which have been dug by the labours and sacrifice of others, is an operation of singular ease. It is one to which we are all prone without realising either the character or the direction of the current. But the Empire rightly regarded is not a question of pomp and circumstance, it is pre-eminently a question of service and sacrifice. It offers a great life and it demands great living in return. It offers a fuller

relationship, a wider horizon, a broader, more comprehensive citizenship, and in return it exacts a better, more generous manhood and womanhood from those who owe it allegiance. Like all great relationships it takes its toll in the call to surrender something of individual life and purpose in order to arrive at a greater life and purpose. It cannot possibly grow or endure on any other principle than the subordination of selfish individual interests to the just claims of that wider citizenship which is its noblest gift. The essence of the Imperial relationship, its greatest value as a moral force, is the corrective it supplies to the tendencies of national selfishness. It brings to each one of us the discipline of the family, it strips us of the undesirable prerogatives of the only child. It is responsible at the present time for the peace and good government of a quarter of the whole globe—no mean charge to rest on the shoulders of any race. To think Imperially does not mean to think only in terms of armaments, conquests, and material prosperity. It means anxious thought as regards a thousand complex social problems in the government of the diverse races beneath the flag. It means incessant care as regards the mutual relations of the scattered whole, and the maintenance among them of high standards of justice, rectitude, and good government. From the watchmen set about its walls must ever come the old probing question of the Psalmist, 'Are your hearts set upon righteousness, O ye people?'—for without righteousness the foundations of those walls must crumble. Does the Imperial relationship make for greater vision, greater sobriety, greater faith in those who believe in it? We have to confess that these qualities are often sadly lacking among the blatant school of so-called Imperialists. But the

errors of that school ought not to blind us—as they blind many people—to the really great ideal which lies behind the Imperial relationship rightly viewed, and the power of that ideal should be in the solution of many difficult problems of government.

To develop the strength and individuality of each national unit concurrently with the broader life of the whole : such must be our purpose. But it is a task of extreme difficulty and one which runs up against whole cohorts of self-interest and prejudice. Willing though we are to obtain the advantages of the Imperial relationship, we are less willing to make the sacrifices which, as I have already said, any fuller life demands. And subordination of the lesser interests of the parts to the greater interests of the whole is inevitable if the Empire is to have any sort of common life. We cannot have it both ways—all the advantages of a separate unit with none of the limitations which spring from being forced to consider another point of view besides our own. Among the younger nations there is often considerable inability to consider any point of view but their own, and this particular form of national selfishness often crops out among the very people who are the fair-weather friends of the Empire and are apt to be most aggressive and intolerant in thrusting the more blatant forms of Imperialism on their neighbours. The greater corporate life of the Empire is either worth having and an ideal for which we are ready to make sacrifices, or it is not. In the latter event we should face the issue frankly and be prepared to renounce obligations and advantages alike. But to hang on to the Empire for such benefits as it can offer, and then repudiate it when in return it demands some yielding up of the individual national will, is

morally the most stultifying of all processes for any people. If Imperialism is to be nothing but a system of organised self-interest, the sooner Imperialism goes by the board the better. The true glory of the Empire must be that of the essential morality on which it rests, and essential morality can make no compromise with the in-and-out view we have just considered. The Imperial citizenship is going to be less and less a question of pomp and circumstance, more and more one of difficulty and trial. But in so far as it offers discipline, it brings a gift worth having; and rightly viewed as a great instrument of peace and order, it is an ideal worthy of a sober-minded citizenship.

Now the crux of the Imperial relationship, as we have seen it in the last chapters, is likely during the near future to lie in the adjustment of political rights between white and coloured men. We have considered at length the actual position with which the Government of South Africa is confronted as regards the aboriginal population. The Asiatic difficulty is, as I have already remarked, a by-product of the situation, and not one of great importance numerically, the total number of Asiatics within the Union being about 150,000. But it is of special interest for the many questions it raises as regards the whole problem of Imperial citizenship and the reconciliation of the legitimate rights of that citizenship in different parts of the Empire. The Imperial Government, the Indian Government, and the Union Government find themselves brought face to face over this matter in a very curious and interesting manner. There could be no better demonstration than this fact affords of the diversity of races, institutions, and political methods which find expression within the bounds of the Empire. And it suggests a conclusion

no less important: that some common policy, some common instrument of government, for dealing with matters which have Imperial as well as local import, may be the real need of the future.

The chronic labour shortage in South Africa, despite its large native population, is one of the peculiarities of the land, and this circumstance led to the introduction of the first Indian immigrants to Natal in 1860 as indentured labourers for the tea and sugar plantations of the lowlands. The climate along the Natal coast is semi-tropical and not one in which Europeans could do manual work, but the plantations are valuable and are a great and growing source of wealth to the country. Kafir labour being uncertain and unreliable, the arrival of the Indians was hailed with delight by the Natalians and for a time all went well. Each labourer was indentured to serve for five years, at the end of which period he might either return to India or reindenture for another term of years. The virtues of the newcomers were applauded and their industry and law-abiding qualities made the subject of many encomiums. Little by little, however, a change came over this happy state of affairs. In the wake of the indentured Indian followed a new and superior type of free Asiatic immigrants, clever, intelligent men who set up trading operations in the Colony much to the disgust and discomfort of the European merchants. Little by little the Asiatic population began to overflow from Natal into the other colonies. The Natalians took fright, and in 1894 and 1897 legislation was passed excluding any Asiatic from the suffrage. The importation of indentured labour has now been stopped by the Indian Government, but not before the Indian element in Natal had reached a total of about 110,000,

consisting, roughly speaking, of 40,000 Indians, men and women, under indentures, 60,000 ex-indentured, and 8,000 to 10,000 free population. Both in Natal and the Transvaal an annual poll-tax of £3 is levied on every Asiatic who remains in the country after the period of indenture has expired, and does not reindenture. The white population in Natal, it should be noted, is 98,114 and the Kafir population 953,398.

The accumulation of this great alien element, in a colony where the pressure of the black on the white is already so considerable, was bound to produce grave difficulties—another instance of the troubles which attend on any short haphazard policy when the consequences have not been fully thought out. Naturally it was impossible to confine the operations of the coolies simply to plantation work. They have overflowed not only into the other provinces but into other classes of work, where they have become serious competitors with the white man. They are formidable by reason not of their vices but of their virtues. It should also be added—and the point is an important one—that as citizens the Indians have proved not only hard working and industrious, but quiet, orderly, and law-abiding. During the war they stood loyally and courageously by the British. In 1899 they were anxious to take some share in the struggle on the English side; and though debarred from any participation in the actual hostilities, Mr. Ghandi, himself the leader of the recent agitation in the Transvaal, was active in the organisation of an Indian Ambulance Corps which did good service in the field. A thousand Indians, free and indentured, came forward in response to this call, and it was a special source of pride to them that, after the tragic loss of the guns at Colenso, it was an Indian

contingent which bore Lord Roberts's gallant son when mortally wounded to the base hospital. A monument to the Indian stretcher-bearers exists in Johannesburg, commemorating in English, Urdu, and Hindi their services and their dead. It is a monument which may well excite some curious reflections to-day in view of the treatment since meted out to the Asiatic population.

Hostility to Asiatic work and influence is a very strong feature in South African life to-day. But as frequently happens when the attitude of the Europeans seems unnecessarily harsh, it is essential to appreciate the special circumstances of the case and not to enter into judgment as hasty as the harshness. The English man or woman without any practical experience of the pressure of a coloured race impinging at every point on European life and customs can hardly realise the irritation, indeed the sense almost of suffocation, to which contact with such conditions gives rise, let alone the instinctive racial repugnance which waits on the whole of this difficult question. The conditions, as we have already seen, are curiously hostile to the creation of any sort of dispassionate public opinion, but if the European attitude seems full of prejudice it is only fair to realise from what causes that prejudice springs.

The Asiatic case against their British rulers in South Africa may be stated as follows. All the Provinces except the Free State (which bars its doors resolutely against the introduction of Indians on any terms) are affected in some degree, and we must consider their circumstances in detail. It is claimed that the largest measure of injustice and difficulty takes place in Natal where the Indian population, as already stated, numbers about 110,000.

NATAL.—Four classes of Indians are affected in the Province of Natal to-day. •

1. Indentured labourers.
2. Ex-indentured labourers.
3. Free traders.
4. Members of liberal professions: Professors, Doctors, Lawyers, who are educated men.

Class 1.—The further introduction of indentured labour, as we have seen, has already been stopped by the Indian Government, except in so far as it is recruited from Class 2 or indentures have not run out. This class, the coolie class *par excellence*, does not aspire to political rights, but complains of brutal treatment from employers and inability to get justice before the Courts.

Class 2.—This, which is composed of descendants of indentured Indians, presents in many respects the hardest case of the whole situation. Born in South Africa, these men have no ties in India and no rights in Natal. Neither in the land of their ancestors nor in that of their birth have they place or lot. They are free labourers, but as such are subjected to the £3 licence levied on all ex-indentured labourers. The £3 licence is an impost which falls with great weight on this class, women being subject to it as well as men, and members of it have a tendency to become reindentured in order to escape from the burthen.

Class 3.—It is to this class, that of the Free Indian traders who have followed in the wake of the indentured labourers, that the European population takes the strongest exception. With a lower standard of life, and in many respects it must be owned a greater standard of thrift and industry, these men have crushed out the English trader in many localities, especially the

small trader in Kafir truck. Such a process was bound to rouse fierce opposition and jealousy, and attempts have been made to check the encroachments of Asiatic competition by the revocation of trade licences however old and well established. The Indians claim that this has been done in a harsh and unfair manner and many men reduced to penury in consequence. The Indian traders make no demand for the political franchise, but this class has the municipal franchise.

Class 4.—Class 4 is a very small one, consisting of the educated Indians who supply the amenities of life to the Asiatic population. Though men of culture and refinement, they are subjected to the identical restrictions laid upon a coolie or a blanket Kafir. They complain of injurious personal treatment, that they have to conform to curfew restrictions, may not enter an hotel, must ride on the outside of the tram-cars, &c. Like the trading class they have the municipal franchise, but have been debarred from the parliamentary franchise since 1895.

CAPE COLONY.—The Asiatic question in Cape Colony is not a serious one, about 2500 Indians in all being scattered over the province. Thanks to the liberality of the Cape view as regards native questions, these Indians are in a much better position than their kinsmen in Natal. They have equal franchise rights in a province which does not discriminate against colour and they do not work under any system of indenture. But their trading operations here, as elsewhere, have excited friction and jealousy, and similar attempts to those already noticed in Natal have been made to extinguish their licences.

TRANSVAAL.—Here, from the Indian point of view, the situation has been the worst of all. It must be

owned that the treatment meted out to them during the last twelve years is an astonishingly unsatisfactory page of history and one calculated to cause considerable heartburning among those who value the good name of the Empire.

Prior to the war the position of British Asiatics in the Transvaal, and the harsh treatment to which they were subjected, formed a very definite charge in the indictment of the Kruger *régime* by the British Government. English statesmen made eloquent speeches at the time, in which the wrongs of our Asiatic fellow-subjects were the theme of impassioned periods. That since the war Asiatics in the Transvaal have been subjected to disabilities far more injurious than any which obtained under Boer rule is one of the most cynical and inexcusable circumstances of latter-day history. To use the Indians as a pawn in the game when they were useful, to toss them aside subsequently—for such a course there can be no justification.

Prior to 1899 there were about 10,000 Indians in the Transvaal. The Boer laws were brutally anti-Asiatic, no discrimination being made between the status of an Indian and that of a Kafir. But though the law was bad, in many cases it was not enforced. Since the war the situation has disimproved from the Indian standpoint. In 1907 a new Registration Law came into force, the main provisions of which were to exclude the admittance of any new Indians into the Transvaal, and to enforce rigorous registration regulations, including the finger-print system, on Asiatics already in the Province. Arbitrary though this action may appear, it must be added that the Transvaal Government had reason to complain both of forgery and

personation as regards many Indians who evaded, and evaded successfully, the existing regulations. Though ostensibly immigration was at a standstill it was claimed—I believe justly—that a subterranean influx of Asiatics was proceeding steadily. It was determined therefore to check such immigration with a firm hand; and it is also claimed that since the finger-print system is used by the Indian Government in pension cases, such a principle of identification was neither novel nor humiliating. Be that as it may, the Act created great feeling among the Asiatics, and led to a disturbing passive-resistance movement being set on foot: 3000 Indians resisted the finger-print regulations and went to gaol—5000 of them in the intervening years have been broken up and disappeared—hence great unrest and bitterness among the British Asiatics. They claim to-day that total prohibition of immigration should not be enforced, that explicit racial discrimination should not be carried out against them, and that a maximum of six higher-grade Indians should be admitted annually to carry on those social services to which I have already referred. Lord Ampthill, in a striking preface to a biographical sketch of Mr. Ghandi (the leading Indian of the Transvaal community and author of the passive-resistance movement), points out that under these new regulations Indians for the first time have been deprived of that legal right of migration on the same terms as other civilised subjects of the Crown. In Lord Ampthill's view the Indian community were struggling 'for the maintenance of a right and the removal of a degradation,' and he asks whether we as Englishmen can find fault with them for such an attitude.

•This state of affairs in the Transvaal excited very

strong feeling in India and led to serious representations and remonstrances both from the Imperial and the Indian Government to the Transvaal Government. Native public opinion in India is a factor which has to be reckoned with nowadays. It is sufficiently educated and sufficiently well informed bitterly to resent any ill-treatment of Indian subjects in any part of the world. Before the war it was commonly said that knowledge of the disabilities to which British subjects were liable in the Transvaal and their inferior position filtered back through the Asiatic population to India, and was becoming a source of uneasiness and unrest. If this was the case it will be readily understood that grievances affecting Indians themselves are a matter of very active concern in India to-day, and also that the Indian Government is in no position to allow such a state of affairs to pass unchallenged. Here then we find a most practical illustration of collision between the needs and interests of two different parts of the Empire, interests which can only be reconciled through the submission of both sides to a broader principle.

A compromise was finally arrived at in 1911 between General Smuts and the Indian passive resisters in the Transvaal, under which the Indian community undertook to suspend passive resistance pending the repeal of the present Registration Act and the introduction of a new Immigration Act in general terms. In October 1912, as already described in Chapter I, a visit was paid to South Africa by the Hon. Gopal Gokhale, member of the Viceroy's Council, and one of the most distinguished of Indian statesmen, in order to examine on the spot the grievances and disabilities of British Asiatics. It is no small matter of

congratulation to the three Governments concerned that the investigation of this thorny subject was undertaken by a politician so able and so responsible as Mr. Gokhale. During the weeks he spent in South Africa, where he was received with great courtesy by the Union Government and accorded a very flattering reception from the responsible bodies throughout the country, Mr. Gokhale impressed all with whom he came in contact by his fair and reasonable treatment of the subject and the real appreciation he showed of the South African view of the difficulty. 'Mr. Gokhale's attitude has been perfectly reasonable,' said General Smuts on November 14, and it is a fortunate circumstance that a task of so much difficulty should have been vested in the hands of a man whose character and brilliant intellectual gifts are in themselves a sufficient demonstration of Oriental capacity to assimilate Occidental culture.

Since Union two efforts were made by General Smuts, prior to 1913, to carry an Immigration Bill which would not discriminate against Indians by name, but in both sessions of Parliament the Bill did not get beyond the preliminary stage. A third Immigration Bill was finally carried by the Government during the session of 1913. The principle which the previous Bills embodied—a compromise acceptable to the Indian Government and to the South African Asiatics—was that of checking undesirable immigration, not by specific racial discrimination but by administrative agency and dictation tests. The Bill, which has now become law, is in some respects more stringent than its predecessors. The dictation test (copied from Australia), though still retained, has been fortified and preceded by an economic test borrowed from Canada—

a curious instance of the influence which legislation in one part of the Empire may have on another. Large, and indeed autocratic, powers are conferred on the Government by the new Act, by which any person may be declared an undesirable immigrant on economic grounds, and no appeal save on the fact of domicile is allowed to the Courts. Much will naturally depend on the spirit in which such an Act is administered, but its passage through the Union Parliament has given rise to much criticism and many doubts as to its wisdom ; politicians of such widely different schools as Mr. Drummond Chaplin and Mr. Schreiner being at one in their predictions that the measure would settle nothing, but only increase the existing dissatisfaction. Asiatic discontent has certainly not been allayed by it, and threats of renewed passive resistance are already audible. The Indians claim that existing rights secured to them in South Africa are infringed by the Act which sets up new interprovincial barriers and appears to invalidate the right of domicile at present belonging to Indians in Natal. It is more than doubtful therefore whether any final settlement of the trouble has been arrived at.

The South African side of the question must now be considered, and that side, though it may appear harsh, rests on some very real apprehensions which cannot be dismissed lightly. South Africa takes its stand on the undoubted truth that all civilisation in the land springs from European effort, energy, and intelligence. It is the white man, alone and single-handed, who has built up the framework of society into which the black and coloured man have entered. The land is the white man's heritage and that of his children, and to expose that heritage to the free competition

of a coloured race whose standard of living undercuts his at every point is to sound the death-knell of European supremacy. The whole trouble arises from the fact that the Asiatic lives on a plane far more simple and, from our point of view, lower than that of the European. There is no comparison between the living-wage of the Indian and the European. The housing accommodation of the former would be condemned as unfit for the animals of the latter. At the same time the Indian is thrifty and industrious, and there can be no question that, unless some check on his free entry into South Africa is made, whole branches of trade and industry must pass from European into Asiatic hands—a state of affairs no one could wish or commend. The desire of white South Africa therefore to preserve its racial position when confronted with such unfair competition is perfectly intelligible and of itself can only command sympathy.

Obviously, however, everything must depend on the spirit in which such a situation is met and the practical methods set on foot to keep Asiatic competition within bounds. Outbursts of racial hatred and efforts to crush the Indians by unjust and unfair means can only in the long run result in the normal harvest of such proceedings—namely trouble and confusion for all concerned.

So far, the general dislike of South Africans to Indian competition springs from much the same causes as explain the dislike to native and coloured competition. But an additional element of difficulty is presented in this case, which does not arise as regards the native question proper. These men who are being subjected to injurious disabilities in South Africa are themselves citizens of another portion of the Empire ; have a right to claim the proud title *Civis Britannicus sum* ; have a

right to ask by what process of justice or logic any one section of the Empire can treat the inhabitants of another as serfs and helots. Unless some adjustment can be arrived at on this point, Imperial citizenship becomes a mockery and a dream. The point is no academic one. In an Empire where there are 370 millions black and coloured men to 60 millions white, it is bound to be an ever-growing problem. If one portion of the Empire is to repudiate any sort of responsibility to the corporate whole about a question so vital, the future of the Empire becomes impossible. We fall back at once into the terms of a vicious insularity, a narrow, self-centred nationalism, which declines to look beyond the margin of its own coasts when called upon by the demands of the fuller life of the whole to make certain sacrifices of personal convenience and interest. The average South African is not prepared to admit the essentially Imperial aspect of the whole Asiatic problem. He is apt to remark hotly that this is a South African question, and he is in no way concerned with the Imperial side of it. That attitude is a possible and a comprehensible one, and it exists elsewhere in the Empire besides South Africa. But wherever it crops up throughout the Empire it is desirable to realise clearly that it is only compatible with complete national independence. It is impossible to reconcile it with any great and growing corporate life of the Empire as a whole, the essence of which implies the subordination of the lesser to the greater interests.

So long as the corporate life exists it must remain an elementary duty of one member not deliberately to manufacture any difficulty for the others. 'If this Empire was to endure,' said Mr Gokhale, with

absolute truth, 'it could only do so on the basis of justice for all; it would not endure upon the basis of selfishness by any particular class or section.' It is on this nice poise between national and Imperial claims that the whole policy and future of the Empire turn. Last, but not least, that Empire cannot hope to endure unless the white races recognise not only the difficulties presented by the preponderating black and coloured elements beneath the flag, but also the real responsibility which rests upon them as regards these weaker brethren. If the Empire is but an institution for organised self-interest, if it refuses to conform to that great law of the spiritual life by which a man's loss becomes his gain—in a word, if there is nothing in it but cash values, its disintegration can only be a question of time. As rival interests spring up, as they are bound to spring up along the course of five diverse national lines of development, they are bound to come into collision, failing some coherent principle which will bring them into line.

Now as regards this question of Asiatic immigration, it is not capable of any hard-and-fast logical treatment any more than those other difficult aspects of native affairs which we have already considered. There is no greater proof of Mr. Gokhale's wisdom and statesmanship than his full recognition of this fact. His plea in South Africa was for an adjustment between the conflicting claims of the European and Indian populations, and for justice and greater generosity in the consideration of those claims. Wisely he made no extravagant demands. There must be give and take in the very attitude from which both sides approach even the question of discussion. So long as educated members of the coloured races will realise that the bulk

of their own people are living on a much lower plane of civilisation than that of the European, so long as they realise that the European has a natural and legitimate desire to protect his own standard of living, such an approach does much to allay European prejudice.

Further, we must look to co-operation with men of Mr. Gokhale's type for a general understanding throughout the Empire of this vexed question of emigration and immigration. It is more and more obvious that to throw two races on different levels of civilisation into political and economic competition, the one with the other, is a disaster for both. Half the troubles of South Africa arise from the fact that she is struggling with diverse standards and diverse needs. This is not a situation which any statesman will deliberately provoke, and it is not a situation into which any country should be allowed carelessly to drift. Throughout the Empire there are areas obviously best adapted to European settlement and political methods; there are others no less adapted to the needs of the black and coloured races. At certain points the areas will touch, and then it is a question of arriving at the best local arrangement possible. But that the Empire as a whole should arrive at some understanding—it is a question for mutual understanding, not for the rigid enactments of legislation—as to the direction of emigration and the areas most suitable for the government and peaceful development of the respective races concerned, is one of the most great and urgent needs of a not distant future. It is essential that such understanding should be arrived at in a manner which is devoid of aggression or humiliation for the coloured people; that the arrangement

should be acceptable to them and one in which they will be willing heartily to co-operate. Areas peculiarly suitable for European settlement should as much as possible be reserved for white men. In so far as European hostility to Asiatic immigration in South Africa is concerned with the lower standard of life and civilisation imported by the coolie, such a principle must command our sympathy, strongly though we may dissent from the practical measures set on foot to crush out such competition. The principle breaks down at once when the South African refuses to discriminate in any way between educated and cultured Indians and the coolie labourer on a sugar plantation. Restrictions justifiable in the one case become humiliating and grotesque in the other. If the Europeans are willing to deal fairly and justly with the grievances of those who claim Imperial protection no less than themselves, then with a reasonable attitude on both sides accommodations should become possible leading to a less tense state of feeling.

Mr. Gokhale remarked fairly enough that there would have been no Indian question in South Africa at all if the Natal planters for their own benefit and convenience had not introduced indentured labour on a large scale. Having brought Indians into the country, the material resources of which they have enormously developed, having allowed a second generation to grow up who have no birthright either in India or South Africa, the Natalians cannot repudiate the obligations incurred. Any other course is to adopt the policy of the squeezed orange in a very cynical form. However inconvenient the presence of the Indians to-day, their circumstances should surely make some appeal to the inherent justice and generosity

of a great governing race. On the other hand the facts of the situation must be no less recognised by the Indians, as Mr. Gokhale frankly admitted. 'In making their claims to fair treatment,' he said, 'they must not expect more than that this treatment should be reasonably satisfactory. It could not be absolutely equal, it could not be absolutely just even; but it must be so far just and humane as to be reasonably satisfactory.'

The lines of compromise which detach themselves from this difficult and intricate dispute are, on the European side, fair treatment for the Asiatics already in the country, and, on the Indian side, an undertaking, tacit or otherwise, that there should be no further influx of Indian immigration beyond the handful of educated men who are required annually to make good any social shrinkage among the Asiatic community. The trading question is a very difficult one, the Indian having already captured the Kafir market. On the other hand it is only this small class of business which has been lost, and it is interesting to notice that for larger commercial operations requiring organising power and ability the Indian has shown no capacity. It is the old story which runs through every phase of this question; when the white man chooses to make good his position by bringing his superior intelligence to bear upon it, he has little to fear from competition of any kind. At the same time no one will dispute his claim that free Asiatic immigration into South Africa constitutes a very unfair handicap on European standards of life, and it is one from which he has a right to be relieved. If South Africa could be reassured as regards the major fear which haunts her on this question, namely that continued immigration is

a deliberate ambition on the part of the Indian leaders, she would in turn be prepared to deal more generously with the Indians already in the country. Mr. Gokhale's assurances on this point should do much to facilitate a peaceable settlement of existing grievances.

As regards unfair commercial competition, there is no reason whatever why Indian traders should not be subjected to stringent sanitary regulations which would make them conform to European standards in these matters. One of the great complaints made against the small fruit-trader, for instance, is that his housing conditions are of a most insanitary kind, and that fruit and vegetables may be purchased by Europeans which have been subjected to conditions of dirt and overcrowding intolerable from the European standpoint. Sanitary regulations administered in a fair spirit and in accordance with a standard of civilisation, not that of persecution, would do much to put the trading question on a better footing. The sense of irritation and injustice among the Indians springs from the fact that at present they feel that tricks and devices are resorted to for the suppression of their licence without any regard to fairness and justice.

As regards political rights the South Africans say firmly that Indians who have no votes in their own country are not in a position to demand them elsewhere. The question of the political franchise affects a small class alone, and it is a claim which, for the present, even the educated Indians would be wise to waive. There is neither logic nor finality in any of these arrangements, as I have remarked over and over again. We can only deal in a rough and ready way with a given situation at a given moment. No other course, is possible with a situation the essential con-

ditions of which are constantly changing and call for constant readjustment. The practical question, in view of the facts, is to arrive at the best measure possible of justice, freedom, and good government, and to come as near as may be to that desirable end with a minimum of friction. The Europeans in South Africa, outnumbered as they are by the black and coloured races, are bound to be curiously sensitive on franchise questions, and to reassure them on that point is to relax tension. If the Indians are relieved from many of the harassing restrictions to which they are at present subjected—such as the £3 tax, the harsh operations of the Immigration and Registration Laws, and unfair attempts to suppress their trading licences—the gain would be so great that they in turn would be wise, anyway at present, not to press for further rights which tread particularly on European susceptibilities. Along these lines it is earnestly to be hoped that South Africa will arrive at the solution of a difficulty which unsolved will create trouble for the Empire, besides reflecting injuriously on her own good name.

This question of Asiatic competition in European areas confronts the Empire in Australia and Canada as much as in South Africa, though the South African aspect of it has up to the present developed in a more acute form than in the other Dominions. I have dealt with this South African aspect at length, not so much for its local interest but for the reflections to which it gives rise as regards the great problem of the political and economic inter-relations of the Empire. Like other phases of the colour question we are only at the beginning of the difficulties, and to arrive at some coherent principle in our own minds for dealing

with them is one of the first essentials of the situation. How complicated is the whole theory of citizenship, national and Imperial, which is involved in the question, I have endeavoured to show. It has been shown also that much in the future of the Empire will turn on the attitude it collectively assumes to the new demand for rights and recognition among races we have hitherto regarded as subject. We have given of our best to those races in the past under a paternal form of government, but their growing claim to meet us on even terms is a very different matter and is apt to stir in each one of us depths of prejudice and resentment. Short of that, the most wise and humane of men may well ask in profound perplexity in what way and to what degree it is possible and practicable to meet this new demand. The white races have white civilisation to guard and uphold—a trust and heritage of the first magnitude. Men like Mr. Gokhale who have absorbed the best side of that civilisation must be our mediators with their own people in making it clear that in defending our race integrity we are defending more than an arbitrary principle of political supremacy. One thing, however, is certain: if prejudice rather than principle takes charge of the situation, our future becomes precarious indeed. The Empire cannot shirk this question, which, like the immediate question within South Africa itself, is bound to grow more and more pressing. But if each section of the Empire, when in turn confronted with it, adopts the standpoint of a selfish parochialism—for it amounts to that—coupled with policies of injustice and fear, we are steering straight for the rocks of chaos and disintegration.

Our prayer must be that the nobler vision of the

Empire as a world-wide instrument of peace and civilisation will not fail her statesmen in the great readjustments which unquestionably lie ahead of us all; that the true ascendancy of the British peoples may rest in the future, as in the past, not so much on their armaments and their material prosperity as on their adherence to those principles of justice and generosity of which any great civilisation, any great life, national or Imperial, must eternally be the expression. *Videant Consules.*

CHAPTER XX

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Some vex the dangerous seas with oars, some rush into arms, some work their way into courts, and the palaces of kings. The husbandman cleaves to the earth with a crooked plough; hence the labours of the year; hence he sustains the country, and his little offspring; hence his herds of kine, and deserving steers.

VIRGIL.

THERE is no particular which separates the old order in South Africa more sharply from the new than the position of agriculture. The Transvaal Agricultural Department was in a very special sense the creation of Lord Milner, who recognised from the first that the permanent interest in South Africa was the land. Under his administration an impetus was given to methods of scientific farming which raised agriculture to a plane unknown before in the Boer Republics, and proved no less stimulating to the other Colonies. The results of Lord Milner's far-sighted policy in this respect are of incalculable importance to the whole future of South Africa. The war coincided with the breakdown of the old patriarchal system of farming in the Boer Republics, and this psychological moment was seized upon to turn matters into a wholly new channel. The old-fashioned Boer farmed in the High Veld during the summer and trekked to the Low Veld in the winter. Stock raising—and stock of a very inferior kind, the herds running wild at their

own sweet will on the veld—was his principal concern. The farms were of huge size, holdings of 6000 to 8000 acres being common, but practically no use was made of the land save for cattle grazing. Just enough of the soil was scratched to produce sufficient wheat and mealies for the needs of the household. The Boer farmed purely for himself; there was no question of an export trade or fulfilling the exacting conditions of a strict market. The rise of Johannesburg and other centres of population found the resources of the country therefore quite inadequate to meet their demands in the matter of foodstuffs. Famine prices obtained, thanks to the total absence of any local supplies, and before the railway was made the early settlers on the Rand fared badly. No effort was made by the Boer farmers to cater for the great market which had sprung up under their eyes; they pursued the even tenor of their way placidly and slovenly as before. When disease swept down and decimated their herds they sought to avoid such evils by a trek into another district—the result of which, generally, speaking was to spread infection broadcast through the country. But this primitive method became impossible as districts grew more populous, and little by little definite demarcation of farms took place.

The question of the poor relations settled on the Transvaal farms was becoming an acute one prior to the war. Vast though the acreage, it could not under such unproductive terms provide a living for all the families who desired to live the simple life on the High Veld without effort of any kind on their own part. It is impossible to say what action this growing difficulty would have forced on the Republican Government had the old order remained intact, but we may hazard the

conjecture, without much fear of contradiction, that a liberal policy of doles would have been forthcoming for the relief of indigent farmers. It is no less certain that such a policy, so far from having any beneficial effect, would in the long run have aggravated the whole situation. Inefficiency invariably desires to prop itself up with protection; and beyond the imposition of heavy import duties on foodstuffs and the exemption of the land from taxation, the Republican Government viewed the economic problem which was arising with helpless impotence. Fortunately for the whole future of South African farming, different principles and methods supervened after the war. Not doles but first principles of agricultural development were the keynote of Lord Milner's work. When the moment of Union arrived the Transvaal Agricultural Department, on which so much care had been lavished, became the basis of the Union Department, and Mr. F. B. Smith, the energetic director of the Milner *régime*, its permanent head. Mr. Smith conducts the large Department of which he is now Secretary with the same success that marked his career in the Transvaal. The Union office has hardly settled into its final place yet after the enormous reorganisation incident on the pooling of four agricultural bodies into one, but work of the highest importance both practical and scientific is already being carried on under Mr. Smith's direction. The Union Department consists of no fewer than twenty divisions, comprising such subjects at Botany, Plant Pathology, Horticulture, Viticulture, Entomology, Chemistry, &c., and at Onderstepoort, near Pretoria, the Government possesses laboratories for the study of veterinary science and disease more elaborate and complete than those in any other institution in the world.

The condition of the country at the end of the war seemed well-nigh hopeless. In the Transvaal the land was swept bare. Buildings, stock, houses, had for the most part disappeared. Afrikander cattle, acclimatised to the country and its peculiar conditions, had gone the same way. Similarly farm seeds adapted to the country had been lost. But from this devastation one good result was to spring. The old agricultural system was hopeless, and the first condition of more progressive methods was the clearing away of the obstacles which strewed the path of progress. This at least the war effected, and effected thoroughly, however grim the method. Everything had to be started afresh; but thanks to the prescience of Lord Milner, the new start was made on the best possible lines.

I have before me as I write the first Report addressed by Mr. Smith to Lord Milner in June 1903. It is in size a modest document, but it is written with the high faith and spirit which characterised the officials who were confronted with the appalling task of economic reconstruction after the war. So far as the former Government was concerned Mr. Smith pointed out that the only assistance given by the late South African Republic to agriculture was a sum of £15,000 distributed among various agricultural societies. The very foundations therefore of agricultural organisation were lacking. It is not a little interesting to compare this slender Report of 33 pages with the bulky volume 663 pages in length which tells of the work of the Union Department of Agriculture between May 1910 and December 1911. No less interesting is it to compare the 1903 Report with the 1913 Union estimate for agriculture, which show that the activities now undertaken cover an expenditure of over £600,000. These

figures tell their own tale of development. They are the best answer to the legend industriously circulated that since Union an effort has been made to destroy the efficiency of the Department. But it is necessary, perhaps, to travel far and wide through South Africa to realise how great is the change that has come over the land and the degree to which the old slovenly slipshod manner of farming has given place to new and progressive methods. Agriculture, too, is essentially in the air to-day. I have referred elsewhere to the relatively unimportant part played by Johannesburg in South African affairs compared with its former overwhelming domination. And the fact that mining questions have retreated not a little into the background marks one of the most wholesome changes in public opinion—the realisation that agricultural not mineral wealth is the permanent basis of the nation's life.

The Boer as a farmer has always been a contradiction. Passionately attached to the land, he has nevertheless shown less skill for agriculture than any other race of farmers in the world. Vast tracts of country given over to cattle-rearing were, as we have seen, the basis of the old Boer farming, and little or no attention was paid to improving the stock. Consequently South Africa as a whole remained in a state of unproductive idleness, and the degree to which she still remains unselfsupporting in the matter of foodstuffs is, I imagine, not generally realised. The Union trade returns show that for the nine months ending September 30, 1912, articles of food and drink to the value of £4,440,550 were imported into the country, a total which includes the item of £86,091 for corn, grain, and flour, and £41,966 for meat. These figures reveal a very undesirable state of affairs, and constitute a reproach which

it is the business of the Agricultural Department little by little to wipe out. Large areas and a small population make for wasteful farming. Land is squatted on and sucked dry—not cultivated—and without proper cultivation no country can provide foodstuffs, adequate both in quality and quantity, for the needs of the population. Whether or not South Africa may aspire to the position of being an exporter of natural products, she should at least do a great deal more in the way of feeding herself. Imports of tinned milk to the value of £35,529 seem peculiarly ironical in a country where cattle are a primary source of wealth. At the same time it must always be remembered that agriculture labours under some very special difficulties in South Africa, and the important questions of land settlement and intensive farming must be approached with great care. Politics have mixed themselves up with this question as with many others, and an impression is abroad that the Government for political ends have steadily discouraged immigration and the settlement of European farmers on the land. What is seldom realised is that the real discouragement to such immigration under present terms springs not from the Government but from the natural conditions of the country itself. The baffling habit of most South African problems of standing on their head has to be reckoned with at every turn. Natural productiveness of a high order goes hand in hand with animal and vegetable pests of a virulent kind. What Nature gives with one hand she is apt to snatch away capriciously with the other. Prizes and risks alike are great. No country in the world calls for more rigorous application of scientific methods to its farming concerns, and up to the present few countries have had less.

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It is one of the best and most hopeful signs of the times that the Department over which Mr. Smith presides is increasingly winning the respect and liking of the old Boer farmers, and that large numbers of them now seek for its help and advice. The Department has a sympathetic and capable Minister at its head in the person of General Botha, himself a practical and successful farmer. The Prime Minister is never to be seen to better advantage than among his own flocks and herds at his farm near Standerton, where, politician and soldier cast aside, he gives himself up enthusiastically to the occupation which lies nearest his heart. Hospitality, patriarchal in its geniality and kindness, reigns in the roomy stone house near Rusthof, where, out of the session, General and Mrs. Botha are to be found surrounded by children, grandchildren, and friends. An amusing story is told in South Africa as to the General's practical ability as a farmer. On one occasion, being in France, he was anxious to pay a visit to the celebrated Government farm near Rambouillet with a view to purchasing merino rams for export to South Africa. The French Government precipitated itself in true French fashion at General Botha's feet. His personality and dramatic career, first as a Boer General, then as a British Minister, appealed in a special degree to their imagination. Every facility for the visit was at once accorded. The only point on which the officials had not reckoned was the practical experience of their distinguished guest whom they were regarding primarily in quite another light. But the story runs that the Government authorities of the farm were reduced to complete and entire despair when after a prolonged examination in the pen General Botha herded into one corner the six prize

pedigree rams of France, and then remarked pleasantly that this was the selection he had made for South Africa. Compromise on the point had to be effected, but the Rambouillet authorities are probably a little shy now of visiting Prime Ministers with a taste for agriculture.

So far as the conduct of his Department is concerned General Botha has set his face as steadily as Lord Milner against the policy of doles, and has dealt no less thoroughly in first principles. Union can point to no better proof of its value and justification for South Africa than in the case of agriculture. Once again we are confronted with the thoroughly artificial character of the political divisions into which formerly South Africa was grouped. The disadvantage of disunited States was never more marked than in dealing with agricultural matters; nor the opposite advantage of one strong Department with an organic policy, more obvious. One unifying element of a very unfortunate character has always existed in South Africa—the contagious diseases which sweep through the country without the smallest regard for political boundaries. Prior to Union all the colonies were liable to infection one from another. In the absence of a vigorous and systematic policy the supine indifference of one State might wreck the progress and efficiency of another. There was little encouragement to adopt a progressive policy when the fruits of that policy were liable at any moment to be stultified by the carelessness of a neighbour. Yet the eradication of disease is necessarily the first concern of South African agriculture. Such banes as horse sickness, rinderpest, redwater fever, pleuro-pneumonia, and scab—to name but a few of the many pests—have resulted in enormous losses in the past, and poisonous

plants and insect banes are also plentiful. The first business therefore of an efficient Department was not to tinker with palliative measures as regards the ravages of such diseases, but to apply itself vigorously on the one hand to a study of their origin and possible eradication, and on the other to show by demonstration and experiment what progressive farming might achieve. Such principles were very novel to the Dutch population, and it is much to their credit that many of them have recognised so fully the value of the new methods. Mr. Smith's own words on this point are worth quoting:—

Owing to the comparatively isolated existence led by farmers and the habits of conservatism and self-reliance which their occupations and mode of life engender, and also to the struggle which many of them have in order to make both ends meet, and to the reverses to which they are constantly liable, it is not surprising that farmers should be somewhat deficient in imagination and breadth of view, and that when the possibility of State aid is mooted, their thoughts turn to some form of direct and immediate relief from the strain to which they are subjected, such as loans or subsidies, the reduction of taxation, or the inflation of prices by protective duties and so forth, rather than to work of a more fundamental character, though the future prosperity of the industry or possibly its very existence may depend thereon.¹

Under the South Africa Act it was left for Parliament to decide what functions should be fulfilled by the Provincial Councils in the matter of agriculture. The Provinces, as the Report points out, are not homogeneous agricultural areas nor do they constitute very suitable administrative units. There is far more to be said for grouping areas such as the High Veld, Low

¹ Paper read at the making of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Grahamstown, Cape Colony, July 1908.

Veld, Karroo and Coast Belt together for administrative purposes, but such divisions do not coincide with the Provincial boundaries. Administrative decentralisation, as we have seen, is very necessary in a vast country such as South Africa, but so far as organisation is concerned the establishment of a single Department for Agriculture was judged to be best fitted to the needs of the country. Equality of treatment and uniformity of legislation—crying needs—can be best achieved through such a Department, and recommendations to this effect were made both by the Majority Report of the Financial Relations Committee and by the Report of the Public Service Commission, 1911. Mr. Smith and the Union officials, however, are very much alive to the importance of administrative decentralisation of the kind which not only makes ample allowance for the variation of local needs, but also brings farmers and others into close and practical touch with the work of the Department. This end can best be achieved by the establishment of Agricultural Schools and Experimental stations in different parts of the country, centres of light and learning which illuminate their own districts.

I visited the Agricultural College and Experimental Farm at Potchefstroom, which is the largest of its kind in South Africa. Potchefstroom, distant about eighty-eight miles from Johannesburg, is one of the most attractive of the South African dorps. It is a bright, pleasant little town and remarkable for the number and variety of the trees with which the streets are planted. The town dates back to the earliest days of the Voortrekkers, for this was the first capital of the struggling Republic, and some fine oaks remain as a legacy from that period. The Agricultural College

was started by Lord Milner in 1903 on what was then a strip of bare veld. Now there are over 4000 acres in occupation, 240 of that total being irrigated by a canal from the Mooi river six miles away. Handsome buildings, orchards, and plantations have sprung up on what but a few years since was a windswept wilderness. The objects of the institution are fourfold :—

1. *Education*—the training of well-informed, up-to-date farmers, experienced in the practical and scientific aspects of agriculture.
2. *A Stud Farm*, for the breeding and encouragement of pure-bred stock.
3. *Experiment and Demonstration*, with a view to improving the yield and quality of crops.
4. *A Seed Farm* to grow improved and tested varieties of crops for disposal as seed to farmers.

These objects are being prosecuted with great energy and success at Potchefstroom under the direction of Mr. Holm, who has built up the farm from its earliest days.¹ Very satisfactory results are being achieved as regards the training of young farmers. The College has sixty-five students, and the demand has already outstripped the accommodation. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance for South Africa of this annual output of trained agriculturalists fitted, as their forefathers have never been, for dealing with the peculiar difficulties of the land. The work of the College is not purely educational. In addition to the stud farm, a poultry section, a seed farm, a forest nursery, a farm dairy, orchards, &c., are each in turn carrying on work or developing produce of a kind which will raise the standard of crops and live stock throughout a large

¹ Mr. Holm has recently given up his position at Potchefstroom for a post in the Agricultural Department.

area. How much this side is appreciated is proved by the fact that pure-bred stocks and seeds to the value of between £3000 and £4000 are disposed of annually to between 500 and 600 farmers. The correspondence carried on at Potchefstroom is not the least important side of the work, and the secretarial staff are kept fully occupied by the needs of over 1000 farmers who write to the College seeking advice and other information. Over 2000 farmers visit the institution annually, and the effect of this spread of knowledge throughout the country must in time make itself felt all along the line. I speak of Potchefstroom because I have seen it, but at Elsenburg, near Cape Town, Grootfontein, near Middleburg, Cedara in Natal, Tweespruit in the Free State, Grootvlei, near Bloemfontein, Lichtenburg, Ermelo, and Standerton in the Transvaal, similar institutions exist. Special branches of farming adapted to the needs of particular districts are carried on at these experiment stations; Grootvlei, for instance, devoting itself to dry farming, Ermelo to sheep farming, while Elsenburg, it is hoped, will become the centre for viticulture. Obviously the highest point of perfection has not yet been reached by all these farms, and no doubt there is still room for considerable improvement in practice and method. A farming tradition so careless and so fatalistic as that of the Boer is not uprooted in a dozen years by even the most enterprising Government Department. The readiness, however, with which the Dutch farmers have availed themselves of these new opportunities is of good promise for the future.

As time goes on we may hope to see the exports and imports of South Africa assume a different character as regards foodstuffs. As it is, the country is miserably supplied with such necessities as fresh milk, eggs,

butter, &c.—fresh milk being practically unobtainable in many places. I found myself fighting my old battle against tinned milk as vigorously as before the war, and in this respect little progress seems to have been made. Dairy farming, poultry raising, &c., are concerned with the question of closer settlement, to which I must refer in a moment; but however irritating their absence, these amenities of life can only be produced on any large scale when certain more fundamental obstacles to South African farming have been removed. A regular milk supply is an impossibility when disease may wipe out a herd at any given moment, or when winter feeding is neglected during periods of drought. Winter feeding for cattle is a principle which has only recently forced itself upon the attention of the average South African farmer, and the great drought of 1912 has driven home some hard lessons in this respect. But nowadays the old-fashioned farmer, who sees his cattle die off one by one, has it borne in upon him that such losses do not overtake his neighbour who has adopted more progressive methods of winter feeding. In the old days of large, unfenced farms, cattle shifted for themselves as best they might, and when the veld was cropped bare in one direction a trek was made to another district. This primitive system, bad at the best, has broken down completely now that the age of fenced farms has supervened and treks to more favourably situated localities have become impossible. Winter feeding for cattle is essential if the animals are to survive the privations of the dry season. Winter feeding in turn implies silage or hay and a different method of cultivation for the land. One of the objects to which all the Government farms devote much attention is the raising of grasses suitable for acclimatisation in the

country. Mexico, a hot, dry country of considerable altitude, whose natural conditions approximate in some respects to those of South Africa, has proved a favourable field for experiment as regards the importation of trees and grasses. Some Mexican grasses have been established and do well. At the Government farm near Pretoria I was also shown a Saskatchewan grass which was growing vigorously. The general adoption of winter feeding will bring about a great change in South African farming, and the existing scarcity of milk will be remedied when more attention is paid to dairy work.

In the meantime considerable patience is necessary with the limitations of South African farming, in view of those fundamental obstacles of drought and disease on the solution of which the future turns. To the uprooting of those obstacles, together with the spread of first principles of scientific organisation, the Agricultural Department rightly and properly is devoting its attention ; and for the moment schemes for land settlement are left aside. The moment for such schemes will come in time, but the land has to be purged and cleaned before settlement on any large scale is possible. Some grumblers in South Africa give one to understand that but for the wickedness of the Government, farms might spring up on the veld with the ease and rapidity with which a child constructs castles out of a box of bricks. As a matter of fact, the whole question of land settlement and intensive farming must be approached with the greatest caution in South Africa. The subject bristles with difficulties too often overlooked by the enthusiasts who discourse so eloquently on the prospects of South African agriculture. A good deal of wild talk may be heard—perhaps more in London than in South Africa itself—about large land settlement schemes which are .

to bring hundreds of farmers into the country. I have no hesitation in affirming that, for the present, at any rate, such schemes are quite impracticable, and can only lead to confusion and disappointment. There is every prospect that in the future South Africa will take a high place among the agricultural countries of the world. For the moment, however, the admirable motto, 'Chi va piano va sano, chi va sano va lontano,' is the principle to which she must adhere. Considerable misconception about this point existed during the Crown Colony period, and the large and expensive schemes of land settlement set on foot at that time produced meagre results quite out of proportion to their cost. The country is not in a position at present to deal with immigration of the flood type—it can deal with it, and deal with it successfully, if it comes in by degrees. Unlike Canada, South Africa is not a great sponge which can absorb everything which is poured on to it. Neither is it at present a country well adapted to the needs of the small man with a small amount of capital. No parallel of any kind can be made between the farming conditions of Canada and South Africa. Many people ask in surprise why immigration to the one country is not as feasible as to the other. To which an answer must be sought in the wholly different circumstances of the two cases. Canada is essentially a poor man's country. A farming man who can scrape together £180 to £200 capital—and this feat is not impossible in Canada between savings, loans, and the easy terms provided—can take up his quarter section of 160 acres, grow wheat, and make a living off it. No such operation is remotely possible in South Africa. The presence of the native dislocates, as we have seen, the whole position of unskilled labour, agricultural as

well as industrial, and casts a more aristocratic tinge on farming. There is no one crop which can be grown with the regularity and continuity of wheat in the Canadian North-West, and with so sure a prospect of profit. South Africa has not passed out of the stock-rearing stage: holdings generally speaking are large in size, ranging from 1000 to 3000 or even 6000 acres, and few people would be well advised to come into the country without at least £1000 of capital. Animal and vegetable pests, as we have seen, are not as yet wholly surmounted, and until this happens closer settlement schemes must necessarily remain in abeyance. 'Our first business is to set our house in order' was the remark made to me by one of the leading agriculturists in South Africa; 'the risks are at present too great for the small man. We must get rid of the pests, develop the large holdings, and then small holdings and intensive culture will come along in their wake. But for the moment we cannot force the pace, and any such attempt would be folly.'

The great laboratories at Onderstepoort near Pretoria, to which I have already referred, are devoted to research work as regards animal disease throughout South and Central Africa. Dr. Theiler, a Swiss expert formerly in the service of President Kruger's Government, is at the head of this establishment. He has under him a staff of between thirty and forty assistants and the laboratories receive a grant of £50,000 annually. Infection, as we have seen, is no respecter of boundaries, and the scourges which sweep down from the tropical regions in the north have to be watched with the greatest vigilance by these scientific Keepers of the Marches. These men bending over the microscopes and test-tubes in their quiet laboratories hold the agricultural, and to a

large extent the political, future of South Africa in their hands. Behind their yea and nay lies the destiny of races. Horse fever, East Coast fever, rinderpest, tsetse fly—all these and many other scourges, in the ultimate issue, reduce themselves to the power of these patient investigators to deal with the revelations of the smears on the glass slides before them. To wring the secret from one drop of blood or from the cultures of bacilli flourishing in their bottles of bouillon is to be in a position to hunt down disease and throw open areas otherwise closed to European settlement. East Coast fever and horse fever have already been successfully treated at Onderstepoort; science, it may be said, has routed the anopheles and solved the problem of malaria. But the tsetse fly still baffles research, and a cure for its ravages has yet to be found. Sleeping sickness remains one of the gravest problems with which Central Africa is confronted, and neither prevention nor cure for this dire disease has yet been established. I was shown the bacillus of this dread scourge on a smear through a microscope—a wriggling red thread of most objectionable appearance. The system of vaccination for East Coast fever discovered at the laboratory has proved capable of immunising 60–70 per cent. of the animals subjected to it. The inoculation of mules against horse sickness has also been attended with considerable success. Serum vaccines, &c., are issued for inoculation against the various types of disease; and farmers, if their animals develop suspicious illnesses, can send a blood smear to the Laboratory which is reported on by the pathologists. Some 5542 smears and pathological specimens were investigated during the last period (1909–10) covered by Dr. Theiler's report. A large stock of animals is kept at the

Laboratory for inoculation purposes—a somewhat sad and sorry sight many of them present in the various stages of sickness and cure. But on the sufferings of the few the safety and the health of innumerable cattle depend, a somewhat strange and suggestive instance of the universal character of vicarious pain. The Onderstepoort Laboratories are of world-wide fame, a result largely due to the character of the remarkable man, Dr. Theiler, who is at their head. It was not pleasant to hear that the one Agricultural Department which shows neither sympathy nor interest in their work is the Department at Whitehall. While the Onderstepoort establishment is in close touch with foreign institutions of the same kind, there is no link or correspondence with the home department. I heard the Olympian attitude of the English Board of Agriculture subjected to some very sharp criticisms at Pretoria, and it is a criticism to be doubly regretted by those who believe that the bonds of Empire are of a personal, not a commercial, kind.

The great difficulty to be solved in South African farming, next to disease, is drought. The question of water is a very pressing one and affects the prospects of agricultural settlement at every turn. South Africa is but poorly supplied with rivers. For months no rain falls; then devastating storms sweep over the country, when an enormous amount of water runs to waste in a very few hours. The average rainfall in some parts of South Africa is not far short of the total average rainfall in England. But whereas we receive our rain distributed over the twelve months with a continuity and regularity which at times proves highly exasperating, South Africa, with her wanton tastes, either for a feast or a fast, crowds it into a few days or

weeks, and then gives herself up to sunshine and dryness for the rest of the year. The high plateau of the interior does not make for the conservation of moisture. Water runs off such a plateau and rivers cut deep into it. Such streams as exist therefore are for the most part sunk at considerable depths and their overhanging banks make them of little use for practical purposes of irrigation. During the rainy season, however, these attenuated streams become swollen to the dimensions of a torrent, and the conservation of this floodwater is one of the most urgent questions in South African farming. Dry farming is carried on successfully over large areas, but closer settlement and intensive culture both imply irrigation. Irrigation in turn demands water on a large scale, since between half and three-quarters of a million gallons of water are required to put one acre under crops. It also means the power to distribute water with regularity, for intensive culture cannot be conducted by spasms—a deluge one day and a trickle the next.

The question as to whether South Africa as a country is more dry than in the early days of European colonisation is one often propounded, but no very satisfactory answer to it is forthcoming. People of long experience talk in general terms of greater drought and the drying up of river beds. But there are no definite figures to confirm these statements, and the rainfall statistics, so far as they are available, do not show any decrease in the average. The question of afforestation and of the wholesale destruction of timber is a different matter. The process which doubtless in years past has gone on in the territories comprised by the Union may be seen to-day in operation in Rhodesia. The destruction of timber to provide fuel for the mines

is lamentable, and the great stacks of wood at such places tell their own tale. Much of the Rhodesian timber, especially the predominating M'Sasa, is not of good quality, but it serves the natural purpose of condensing atmospheric vapour and checking the loss of soil moisture ; functions which cannot be fulfilled unless afforestation follows hard on the wake of demolition. Mr. William Macdonald, the able Dry Land Agronomist of the Agricultural Department (more tersely and generally known as 'Dry Mac'), writes strongly on this question of deforestation in the Union Blue Book. He takes the view that the aridity of Bechuanaland and the Cape North-West is due to the persistent cutting down of trees by natives, pioneers, and settlers ; and that this destruction is primarily responsible for the drying up of such rivers as the Molopo and the Kuruman. 'This is a matter of national importance,' he writes, 'and calls for much more vigorous action on the part of the Forest Department than has been adopted in the past. Afforestation is much more vital than either dry farming or irrigation. The desert country of the Union will continue to increase so long as the native trees are ruthlessly destroyed. We preserve the game of the desert but we pass no laws for the protection of the trees of the desert. Yet plantations are surely of far greater value to the nation than hordes of royal game.' It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Forestry Department of the Union will bring all their energies to bear on this subject, though in so vast a country as South Africa it is almost impossible at this stage to make good the ravages in which carelessness and lack of foresight have resulted.

The question of the storage of underground water is another disputed point which has much bearing on the

future of farming. Dry though the surface land is, water is always obtainable by sinking a bore hole. One of the obvious changes from the pre-war days is the number of windmills attached to pumps which may be seen all over the country. They dominate the veld in a curious, almost eerie, way, and as they creak and turn convey an uncomfortable suggestion of vitality. One is reminded of Mr. Wells' Martians terrorising the countryside on their monstrous stilts. Whether or not the large and increasing number of wells which are being sunk will have the tendency not only to exhaust the accumulated underground supplies, but also will serve to drain the country still more thoroughly, is a point which gives rise to many uneasy fears. Here again the question is more easy to ask than to answer. Statistics must be collected over a long term of years before any accurate deductions can be drawn from them, and in South Africa statistics are in their infancy.

But important though the factor of bore-holes may be, obviously they can only supply the personal needs of the farmer and provide his cattle with water. For irrigation on a larger scale the construction of dams is essential. The construction of dams has increased by leaps and bounds since the war. It is striking to notice up and down the country how frequent now are the small dams built by farmers on their property: dams, the presence of which is recognised at once by the brilliant green fields of lucerne or other crops standing out in vivid contrast to the dusty veld. But irrigation on a larger scale is a costly matter and one beyond the needs of the small farmer, however well-to-do. Nevertheless it is the property of this same dusty veld to bear good fruit a hundredfold if water can only be

brought to it. Here the conditions of South Africa approximate not a little to those of Egypt. Sir William Willcocks visited South Africa after the war and reported enthusiastically on the potentialities it possessed for irrigation. But the schemes he put forward were on so vast and costly a scale that they somewhat alarmed the various South African governments, and State enterprise so far has not attempted to give practical expression to his views. Irrigation schemes of a more modest kind would have been better adapted to the needs of a not over wealthy country. But short of designs running into millions there is a great deal to be done in South Africa by enterprises in the tens of thousands, and to this matter more and more attention is being directed. Experiments beyond the reach of the small man can be undertaken with the most valuable results to the whole country by the Government or by a group of private individuals. It says much for the spirit of private enterprise that the greatest experiment in irrigation ever undertaken in South Africa and carried to a successful conclusion is the work of Sir Thomas Smartt and the syndicate who have erected the great dam at Britstown in the Karroo.

Few districts in the world have an appearance so utterly desolate and forlorn as the Karroo. But this desert, like that of Egypt, has the power of blooming like the rose when brought under the influence of water. Without water, the Karroo as it stands is not a worthless agricultural asset. On the contrary it possesses much value as a sheep country. The dry, drab land, devoid of a blade of grass, is covered with an edible shrub, or rather shrubs (for there are no fewer than thirty varieties of Karroo bushes) on which the flocks subsist. It takes four acres to keep a sheep in the

Karoo. When one breaks a twig of a Karroo bush, however dead it may appear, the twig is found to be green and succulent inside, and on these twigs sheep and oxen exist during the dry season, and practically the season is always dry. The roots of these bushes strike very deep into the earth, their fine filaments extending sometimes, so I was told, to twenty and twenty-four feet below the surface, a circumstance no doubt connected with their power to absorb moisture in so arid a district. These dusty-looking plants are covered in springtime with little yellow flowers which have a strong aromatic scent and possess medicinal qualities. It is to these qualities that the health of the sheep is attributed, for the Karroo is more healthy, from the cattle point of view, than the grass veld further north, and is not subject to disease in anything like the same degree.

Great though the importance of this unpromising-looking desert as a sheep country, this does not exhaust the potentialities of the land. Under irrigation the soil is found to be amazingly productive and capable of raising heavy crops of lucerne, wheat, &c. This brings us to the great experiment, mentioned above, which is now being carried out by the Smartt Syndicate.

The Smartt Syndicate Farms owe their origin to the energy and enterprise of Sir Thomas Smartt, who some thirty years ago was practising as a doctor in Britstown, a small town in the heart of the Karroo. In 1884 he bought his first farm in the district at Ercidoune, and now the Smartt Syndicate formed in 1895 owns 100,000 acres comprising twelve farms. The average rainfall in the Britstown district is about 11 inches. This, if reliable, would be sufficient for the purposes of dry

farming, but the rainfall, like other matters, shares the eccentricities of South Africa. There are years when 17 inches of rain will fall; others again when the amount will drop to 4 inches. Irrigation is therefore essential for the regular cultivation of crops. Some years since a dam was constructed on Houwater Farm to catch the surface water. The dam is 600 feet across with an average depth when full of nine feet and holds 220 million cubic feet of water. It irrigates 700 acres of land mostly lucerne. There is no stream or regular supply which feeds this dam, and I cannot better illustrate the character of the torrential rains which now and again fall in this dry district than by the remark that when I saw Houwater, the spillway had been destroyed by a sudden rush of flood water. This enterprise, however, is a trivial matter as compared with the great dam at Kaffirs' Poort on the Ongers River, completed in August 1912, at a cost of £160,000 by the Syndicate after nearly five years' work.¹ This is the second greatest irrigation scheme in the whole African continent, yielding place in size only to the Assuan dam. Somehow one learns without surprise that the inspiration of Cecil Rhodes was one of the main factors in the construction of this great work, though he did not live to see it put in hand. Where big ideas are being carried out in a big way in South Africa, over and over again one finds the trace of that same great influence. The Ongers River intermittently pours down volumes of water, and a natural basin was selected in the hills at the head of an alluvial valley of rich soil to catch the flood. When full the dam will cover over ten square miles or an area of 8000 acres and hold 25,000 million gallons

¹ A further capital expenditure will be necessary to carry out the development schemes in full.

of water. It is hoped that it will bring an area of 20,000 acres under cultivation.

I was fortunate enough to stay with Sir Thomas Smartt's manager, Mr. Mugglestone, at Doorskuilen Farm, and by motor we made a tour of the works and farms alike. In the whole of South Africa I know no sight more extraordinary and unexpected than suddenly to come across this great sheet of water in the heart of the Karroo. Except the Zambesi, water seems a negligible quantity in South Africa, and this lake created in the centre of the most arid of all its districts affects one almost like a mirage. Still more extraordinary are the flocks of wild geese, duck and coot already attracted to its shores. There are two dams : the main dam, with which the canals and sluices are connected, 1620 feet in length at the base, and a subsidiary dam of reinforced concrete 857 feet in length and 23 feet in height, to fill up a depression on the right bank of the lake 400 yards from the main dam. This dam is lower in total height than the main dam, and in floodtime will form the overflow and spillway by which the surplus water may return to the dry and depleted bed of the Ongers River. The discharge of water is controlled from a water tower at the far end of the main dam and passes into a concrete culvert through two 36-inch pipes. This culvert empties itself into a small canal 20 feet wide which in course of time will be carried for fifteen miles down the valley and bring a great area of land under irrigation. The valley will be intersected by subsidiary channels and distributing branches. Unirrigated Karroo land is worth about 18s. to 20s. a morgen : irrigated land is worth from £80 to £100 and even £150 per morgen—figures which convey some idea of the change in value

which results from the introduction of water. About a thousand acres have already been put under irrigation in connection with the Ongers River dam, and are growing mealies, lucerne, &c. Lucerne, fine crops of which can be reaped in a year, is most profitable. It is perennial, and once planted requires no further attention save periodical flooding with water. It fetches on an average £4 10s. per ton and is indispensable, for another important branch of agricultural work in this part of South Africa means the rearing of ostriches.

There are few birds or beasts in which the most desirable qualities of family life shine more admirably than in the ostrich. It is a little hard upon it, in view of its domestic virtues, that it should have become the symbol of consistent avoidance of obvious facts. The parent birds are models of conjugal devotion—I was told in many cases they fret if separated from each other—and devote the greatest attention to the bringing up of their families. The birds take it in turn to sit on the eggs, the hen by day, the cock by night. It has been suggested that this division of labour arises from the fact that the hen's drab feathers mimicking the colour of the Karroo make her a less conspicuous object by day, than the cock bird with his black plumes. The wild ostrich is, as is well known, an exceedingly fierce, not to say dangerous, bird, and in order to tame the chicks the latter are removed at an early age from their parents and put in charge of a Kafir boy whom they follow about in the most docile manner. The drawback of the Kafir boy usually lies in the fact that being lazy he prefers to take a siesta in the shade rather than to spend his time in the hot weather giving the chicks all the exercise they require. The parent birds walk them up and down the enclosure the whole time, constant exercise

being apparently the proper education for a young ostrich, and the first condition of its health. This ceaseless promenade of the entire family is very amusing to watch ; the old birds hustle the chicks along if they show signs of laziness and generally maintain strict discipline. So possibly the slacker methods of the Kafir boy are not wholly unacceptable to the feathered juveniles. It is necessary to separate the chicks from the parent birds, because, if left with the latter, they become so wild that they are difficult to handle. Ostrich farming is very lucrative work. Four ostriches can be run to the acre, and on an average £6 to £7 worth of feathers is produced from each bird annually. The birds live to a great age and will give a feather crop for thirty years, but their best plucking period is over a term of ten years. Good feeding is essential if feathers of a high price and quality are to be produced ; the feathers of the wild ostrich are only worth half the value of those produced by the domesticated animal. Hence the importance of lucerne, which is specially suited as an ostrich food. High prices are fetched by these birds. A good cock ostrich costs £200, and a hen bird £100, but a really fine cock bird may fetch as much as £500.

The irrigation scheme at Britstown is still in its infancy, but there ought to be a great development of agriculture in the district when the canal and subsidiary channels are finished, and the 20,000 acres provided for are brought under cultivation. Closer settlement and small holdings become practical propositions at once when the conditions for market gardening, dairy work, &c., are thus fulfilled. But the development of the Smartt farms proves the truth of the words already quoted, that small holdings can only be introduced gradually in the wake of large ones. It is a wonderful sight

to see the desert being reclaimed in a manner so purposeful, and as one looks on the acres of lucerne already flourishing in the Karroo and the object-lesson in irrigation provided by Sir Thomas Smartt for the whole of South Africa, General Hertzog's jibe of 'foreign adventurer' assumes a peculiarly unworthy aspect.

Fruit farming and viticulture have been developed in a striking way of late years in the south-west district of the Cape Province. This is the oldest settled part of South Africa, for here, as we saw, the Dutch pioneers established themselves in the early days and built the beautiful homesteads which remain so delightful a feature of the country-side. Citrus fruits can be grown up-country, but owing to the summer rains stone fruit cannot be grown successfully in the north. In the Cape the rainy season comes during the winter—the right period for stone fruit; and dry warm weather—another essential condition—obtains when the crops are ripening. It is claimed that this beautiful and fertile country of hills and valleys has a great future before it, being specially adapted to the cultivation of fruit, vines, tobacco, and grains; indeed Mr. J. X. Merriman, himself a successful fruit and wine farmer, has expressed the opinion that the country within a hundred miles of Cape Town could, if developed, feed the whole white population of South Africa. The export of fruit has grown by leaps and bounds since the war. Some twelve or thirteen years ago little bullet-like apricots and peaches were to be found in the London fruit shops during January and February—curiosities from the Cape which excited a sentimental interest in some of us. Now the Cape plums, pears, and peaches which figure in every greengrocer's shop during the English winter are often of fine size and quality. In February 1913 the

fruit exported from South Africa amounted in value to £11,238: the principal items being pears, £4257; grapes, £2779; peaches, £1702; and plums, £1555. There is still room for improvement both in the packing and grading of fruit for the London market. There are numerous complaints of bad packing and short weight. But in spite of some drawbacks the South African fruit trade has established itself on a firm basis and has a promising future. Here again we find the influence of Mr. Rhodes as a mainspring of much activity. With his wonderful instinct for seeing the essentials of a situation, he was one of the first people to realise how greatly the fruit industry might be developed in this part of the Cape Province. Shortly before his death he started a syndicate known as the Rhodes Fruit Farms in the Paarl and Stellenbosch districts. The syndicate controls about thirteen farms, some directly managed, some leased out, others worked on varying terms. They have fulfilled Rhodes's aim by rendering valuable pioneer work in the district, where fruit and vines are now firmly established. The price of land in this south-western district varies considerably, position, soil and irrigation determining prices which run from 10s. an acre in the Bokkeveldt to £100 per acre for irrigated lucerne land; £50 per acre is not an unusual price for deep vleiland where the rich pockets of earth are specially suitable for the cultivation of fruit. Land suitable for orchards but not irrigated may fetch from 15s. to £7 per acre. It is calculated that out of a possible 863,137 acres suitable for cultivation in this district only 165,588 are at present occupied, which leaves an ample margin for future settlement. The size of the holdings varies considerably, viticulture and fruit being supplemented by wheat and tobacco in many instances.

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Fifty-acre lots under fruit can produce a living, but 100- and 200-acre farms are also common. In the 'Farm Lands of the Rich South-West,' a publication of the Cape Publicity Association, Mr. Abrahamson, a well-known agriculturist living at Wellington, gives the estimated cost and returns of a 50-acre farm. He holds 'that some of the land now used for wheat and oats is available for vines and orchards and can be had at 30s. to 40s. per acre.' This land, he suggests, should be bought up by 'Land Development Corporation,' cut into 50-acre lots, fenced, tilled, planted, and provided each with its homestead. This could be done at a capital outlay of £675, and 50 acres sold at £5 per acre—making £250 and bringing the total indebtedness of the settler up to say £1000. The land would be planted with 3500 fruit trees and 25,000 vines, and by the fourth year the return would be by his estimate £400 from vines and £850 from fruit. During the interval of four years the settler would live on 'snatch' crops, pay little or no interest, with nothing off the capital. By the fourth year the settler's land, carrying 100 trees to the acre, would be worth £150 per acre, and the land carrying 1600 vines, worth also £150 per acre.

Since the failure of the 'snatch' crop would leave the settler indigent during the years when his fruit-trees were under development, further reserve capital beyond the £1000 estimated for initial expenses would seem desirable in view of the caprices of the South African climate. Whether Cape wine can ever hope to compete with the French and German vineyards is more doubtful, but there is room for plenty of development as regards the domestic needs of South Africa itself: 90 per cent. of the existing demand for wine is for a heavy inferior article pernicious to black and white

alike, and there is but a small demand for superior light wines. Even so, sound claret and hock are now produced in South Africa, though I was told on one wine farm that owing to the heat and the character of the soil, the natural wine of the country was of a Madeira type—not a light wine.

In one respect South African agriculture has much to learn from Canadian enterprise. Canada has carried the gentle art of advertisement to a high point of perfection. Every little town, village, and district in the Dominion knows how to boom itself and thrust its prospects and capacities on the notice of the emigrant. Very different is the position in South Africa, where it is exceedingly difficult to obtain any information about the natural resources of the country and what prospects of success are offered by the different branches of farming, such as viticulture, fruit growing, ostrich rearing, tobacco, wheat, &c. The Cape Publicity Association, to which I have just referred, is a useful body which has come into existence to meet this very obvious need of the provision of better information about farming matters. They have produced the excellent book, from which I have just quoted, dealing with the south-west districts of the Cape Province, and it is to be hoped in time that their example will be followed in the Transvaal, where cotton, tobacco, and citrus fruits all offer possibilities, apart from the growing of cereals and stock raising.

With time and patience, therefore, the future of agriculture in South Africa promises well, and if for the moment settlement seems in abeyance, the explanation must be sought in the peculiar conditions which obtain, and in the experimental character of much agricultural enterprise. The Government would have been ill advised to set on foot any flamboyant schemes which

could only have resulted in loss and disappointment. But the steady research work which is being prosecuted quietly but vigorously at present, together with the development in a cautious manner of the resources of the country, will bear good fruit in time ; and though South Africa can hardly hope to welcome those teeming millions on which Canada delights to dwell, she can offer wholesome, prosperous, and happy conditions of life to newcomers from the Old World in her cloudless climes under the Southern Cross.

CHAPTER XXI

RHODESIA AND THE CHARTER

Plantations are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroicall Workes. . . . But moile not too much under Ground: for the Hope of Mines is very Uncertaine, and useth to make the Planters Lazie, in other Things. For Government, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counsell: And let them have Commission, to exercise Martiall Lawes with some limitation. And above all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wildernesse, as they have God alwaies, and his Service, before their Eyes.

BACON.

THE relations of Rhodesia and the Union are not the least interesting of the multifarious problems presented by South Africa. They have also a slightly humorous side, for the whole situation between them reminds one irresistibly of the conflicts of Benedick and Beatrice in the early stages of *Much Ado about Nothing*. Like that hero and heroine, each is apt to indulge in considerable protestation about the other. Rhodesia delights in representing the Union as an aggressive, undesirable suitor, seeking to sweep an unwilling maiden off her feet by force, and therefore to be snubbed and rebuffed and generally taught his place. But at heart she rather enjoys the wooing even while declaring that under no possible circumstances would she ever lend an ear to the suit. The Union, on the other hand, does not take these rebuffs lying down, and retorts—in the vigorous spirit of

If she be not fair to me
 What care I how fair she be—

that Rhodesia has wholly exaggerated and magnified the character of the advances made to her, and that she need not cherish the illusion of a love-lorn swain to the South sighing out his heart in despair. Whether or not in the long run this particular Benedict and Beatrice will end by falling into each other's arms, who can say? One thing at least is certain: the point is one which they alone can decide, and to be successful it must be a marriage, not of convenience, but of affection.

It was in 1890 that the Pioneer Force of the British South Africa Company entered and occupied Mashonaland. We are concerned in this chapter with the present position of affairs in Rhodesia, and the chequered history of those early days need not detain us here. A more tangled skein of motives, good or bad, than those concerned with the acquisition of the country it would be hard to unravel. Amazing things were done and left undone, valour and commercialism, high patriotism and sordid gain, jostled and elbowed each other turn by turn. The dominating influence of a personality so vast as that of the founder routs all calculations and upsets all judgments. For greatness, even when it falls below itself, as too often befell the greatness of Rhodes, still remains great; and he has left in the country which bears his name a spirit and a tradition which set Rhodesia apart in some intangible way from the rest of South Africa. Somehow here the atmosphere is more spacious, the spirit more keen, the point of view broader than in the other provinces. In 1914 the Charter granted originally to the British South Africa Company will have been in operation twenty-five years, an anniversary which all concerned recognise as marking

an important date in the history of the country. War, pestilence, rebellion, drought, and famine have been crowded into the varied course of the twenty-five years under review. The Company has so far been unable to fulfil the hopes of speedy profits with which in old days Rhodes was wont to charm—some people say bemuse—a City audience. Rhodes in such matters was a veritable Pied Piper of Hamelin, and had an amazing power of turning the most sober financial heads and making them trip to his tune. He piped, and at his word a stream of gold would flow. Those were the old sporting days of adventure, when the structure of government in Rhodesia was of the most crazy kind ; and when the coffers ran dry, as not infrequently happened, Rhodes would appear himself in the country with a cheque-book and pay out large personal sums right and left to bridge whatever financial chasms yawned before the feet of his enterprise. The true record of those days, whenever it comes to be written, will read like one of the extravaganzas of history, so wild and incredible seem much of the things which then occurred. The whole situation to-day is totally different. What Rhodes limned in outline with large and impatient hand, lesser men with a greater power of detail and more sober administrative ability have patiently filled in. After many difficult and critical years the Company has turned the corner and come into altogether smoother waters. The extravaganza has yielded place to solid and successful enterprise. So far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned, revenue now exceeds expenditure. According to the last balance sheet of the Company, dated March 1912, the administrative revenue is returned at £808,602 11s., and administrative expenditure (exclusive of amounts charged as capital outlay to public

works and buildings account) at £737,948 15s. 10*d.* Even that long-suffering body of involuntary Empire builders, the shareholders, begin to entertain hopes, less sketchy than in the past, of dividends in a not remote future. Administration is well established, government is paying its way ; and a civilised community of some 24,000 white men, provided with most of the amenities of life, is now peaceably engaged in commerce and agriculture where twenty-five years ago the Matabele warriors of Lobengula devastated the country-side.

On the face of it, therefore, the Chartered Company has deserved well, both of South Africa and of the Empire, in the reclamation of this vast country from barbarism and in providing the amenities of civilised life within relatively so short a period. The Company has many enemies who attack it somewhat unreasonably, not only for present shortcomings but for those darker incidents which cloud the early days. Rightly or wrongly, in popular imagination it never wholly escapes from a touch of suspicion, though that suspicion is a question of innuendo rather than of definite charge. The Chartered Company may be, and probably is, vulnerable in many ways, but whatever its shortcomings, nothing can be more unfair than wholly to ignore the outstanding item on the *per contra* list—that without the Charter Rhodesia itself would have no existence. If the territories north of the Limpopo are British to-day, that result is due to Rhodes and his Company alone. It requires but little imagination to judge the character of the situation which might have confronted South Africa as a whole to-day, and the Union Government in particular, if the territories south of the Zambesi had passed under foreign rule. That alternative was no idle chimera ; it was a real danger which Rhodes recognised

and averted. Rhodes, it is often said, did not go to Rhodesia for his health, but to make money. Like many other men he often acted upon mixed motives, but money was to him merely a lever for the prosecution of larger ends, and African policies he viewed on a scale unknown to his contemporaries. He probably thought the acquisition of Rhodesia good business; he also thought such acquisition a matter of high Imperial concern. Hence his intervention and the creation of the Charter. The day must come eventually when the government of Rhodesia passes into the hands of the people, and the administrative functions of the Company will be at an end. Whenever that great day of settlement and reckoning takes place between the Charter and the people, these fundamental services to British-speaking South Africa must be allowed the full weight they deserve.

The territories under the rule of the Chartered Company lie respectively north and south of the Zambesi, and to all intents and purposes may be regarded as two separate countries. The high uplands of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, geographically and climatically, reproduce much the same conditions as are to be found in the Transvaal and other parts of the South African plateau. The beautiful and fertile districts of the eastern border adjoining Portuguese territory are more tropical in character, but generally speaking Rhodesia has a fine climate where white men can live and bring up their children. I have made in a previous chapter some reservations on the subject of white settlement in general in South Africa, and referred to certain climatic drawbacks which exist and must be reckoned with. But owing to the high altitude in Rhodesia these drawbacks are not more conspicuous than elsewhere. There

is a certain magnificent champagne quality in the air which brings with it keen exhilaration and almost life-giving power. And this was remarkable even in midsummer when I was travelling through the country at a very hot time of the year. So far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned, the country is as well adapted to white settlement as the Transvaal and is capable of supporting a large population. North of the Zambesi the position is quite different. The area is a tropical one, and though some white farmers have settled in the neighbourhood of the Kafue river, their presence cannot be regarded as an earnest of future European immigration. The permanent European population in Northern Rhodesia is approximately 1500, whereas the native population is estimated at the large total of nearly 900,000. The commercial and agricultural possibilities of this great district, 291,000 square miles in extent, are at present conjectural rather than established. Copper ore is already being worked advantageously, and indications of other minerals are established. Agriculturally it is hoped that Northern Rhodesia may develop a considerable trade in cotton. Nearly 5000 acres are already under cotton cultivation, and the Company is devoting much attention to the matter. Rubber, tobacco, and maize all present possibilities, but at this initial stage no forecast can be hazarded as to their future development.

The character of the administration in Northern Rhodesia differs in many respects from that of Southern Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia the administration in nearly every particular follows the lines of the old government of Cape Colony. Roman Dutch law has been established, and the officials are in the main South African. North of the Zambesi there is a different legal system, the officials for the most part are English.

and the whole administration is of an Imperial rather than of a colonial character. The Cape system and Roman Dutch law were deliberately adopted by Rhodes for the government of Southern Rhodesia, a circumstance which indicates the view he took as to the ultimate future of the country. The tropical districts under the control of the Chartered Company may therefore for practical purposes be separated from any consideration of the question now to the fore as to the status and government of Southern Rhodesia. Before considering the question of what political changes may have become desirable, it is well to glance at the record of the Company as a governing body so far as their practical development of the country is concerned.

Communication is a matter of great importance for Rhodesia. An inland state, her remoteness from the seaboard is no small handicap to her commerce, and is largely responsible for the high cost of living in the country, a matter on which a committee of inquiry is at present engaged in reporting. Cape Town is distant by rail 1360 miles from Bulawayo, and Beira in Portuguese East Africa is 675 miles. Beira is bound more and more to become the chief port for Rhodesia, and in course of time the country may be linked up with Lobito Bay on the west coast, where the Germans are engaged in railway construction. Meanwhile the growth of railways within Rhodesia itself has been striking; an asset to the community provided by the Chartered Company, the value of which is perhaps not fully appreciated. Over 2400 miles of railways have been constructed, and the linking up of districts and systems is being pushed ahead; communication between Johannesburg and Bulawayo having been reduced over 250 miles in 1912 by the new line between Mafeking and

Zeerust in the Western Transvaal. The development of light railways would be of great benefit to the farming community, and with the growth of agriculture the present high prices for foodstuffs would be reduced. Viewed as a mining country Rhodesia's output of gold, which for the year ending 1912 amounted to £2,707,369, is, of course, a modest production when compared with the enormous total of the Rand, but it is a respectable position to hold among other gold-producing countries apart from the unique area of Johannesburg. Up to the present twenty-two and a quarter millions of gold have been produced in Rhodesia, and Sir Starr Jameson stated at the annual meeting of the Chartered Company on February 24, 1913, that at that moment gold to the value of thirteen millions was in sight.

The pioneers of the Chartered Company were not the first-comers on the field so far as gold mining in Rhodesia is concerned. The 'ancients,' whoever they may have been, exploited the country very thoroughly, and it is estimated from evidences of the workings they have left that gold to the large total of at least seventy millions—some say a hundred millions—sterling was extracted in those far-off days. Few mysteries are more impenetrable than that which shrouds the history of the ancient gold miners and ancient ruins in Rhodesia. Theories of the most fascinating character have been put forward linking the country in the dawn of history with the mighty nations of antiquity. We have all cherished the hope that Rhodesia was the land of Ophir and that the Queen of Sheba—that delightfully feminine person—was somehow connected with it. The Phœnicians are constantly invoked as builders and miners, and so are the Sabæans. Unfortunately there is no evidence of any kind in support of all these pleasant speculations.

They may or may not be true, but they do not rest on a solid basis of fact. Our information about the Phœnicians is at the best extremely meagre, and for that very reason they are the handy men invariably produced whenever some outside agency is required to fit in with the needs of any particular theory. Very much the same applies to the Sabæans, a people of whom little is known. Meanwhile other and more prosaic theories are coming to the fore. The ruins of the Great Zimbabwe, round which centre so many speculations about the Phœnicians and other Semitic civilisations, have been subjected to somewhat destructive criticism from Dr. Randall MacIver of Oxford, who considers them to be the medieval buildings of an aboriginal negroid race, superior in civilisation to the present Bantu peoples. Such a doctrine comes as a severe shock, but it is one apparently which is commending itself more and more to scholars. The entire absence of writing or inscriptions of any kind, the rude character of the building and of the implements found, do not point to a high degree of civilisation. Even the soapstone vultures at Zimbabwe, with all the speculations about Astarte to which they have given rise, are now dismissed as totems by adherents of the medieval school. The older theories put forward by Mr. Bent and Mr. Hall are infinitely more attractive—which of us can yield up the Queen of Sheba without a sigh? But so far as evidence is concerned, we are forced to admit that this Phœnician superstructure rests on but slender foundations and has principally been deduced from the supposed trading operations of this people on the East Coast of Africa in ancient times. The identity of the Rhodesian gold workers of that remote period remains a mystery, and archæologists have still to settle among

themselves to what race and age we must attribute the builders of the Great Zimbabwe and of kindred if lesser ruins in other parts of the country. Let us hope that some wealthy and public-spirited South African will equip an expedition composed of trained archæologists who will make a thorough investigation of these interesting remains, a process to which, despite much disturbance and spasmodic digging, they have not as yet been subjected. They raise some problems of high interest to which it would be satisfactory to find an answer.

But I have digressed from the present to the past so far as mining in Rhodesia is concerned, and must now return to its latter-day aspects. It is impossible not to feel at times that the ancient workers were almost too thorough in their operations and have taken the cream of the country, leaving modern enterprise less favourable material to work upon. But if individual mines are often small propositions, the fact that they are not concentrated in one district but are dotted about all over the country is a very fortunate circumstance. These small mines have had an excellent influence on agricultural development. They have provided centres and markets for farming produce which otherwise could have found no sale. Mining and agriculture have therefore gone hand in hand in Rhodesia; for agriculture here, as further south, is the great permanent interest of the country, and not the least value of the mines, quite apart from the gold produced, is the stimulus they have given to farming. Mining carries agriculture in the early stages till agriculture is able to stand on its own feet. I have spoken in the preceding chapter of the spread of agriculture in South Africa and the elaborate organisation maintained by the Union on behalf of the farming interest. Owing to the prevalence of pests and

disease, scientific research is, as we saw, essential in South Africa, and experiments on a large scale are necessary in order to cope with the peculiar circumstances of soil and climate. The conditions in Rhodesia in this respect are practically identical with those farther south, and the creation of an efficient agricultural department is as necessary in her case as in that of the Union. Very excellent work has been carried out by the Rhodesian Agricultural Department, both on its scientific and on its advisory side. As in the Union, experimental farms and stations have been created in different districts where scientific work is pursued in connection with the composition of soils, cattle diseases, insect pests, fertilisers, &c., matters of the first importance if European settlement in the country is to spread and grow. South African conditions do not, as we have seen, admit of sensational progress in agricultural affairs, but Rhodesian agriculture has established itself on a satisfactory basis; and, apart from stock raising, maize, tobacco, citrus fruits, and the cultivation of cereals, all promise well for the future.

Education is another matter on the progress of which Rhodesia is justified in congratulating herself. In 1912 forty-one Government schools and five aided schools were in existence with an attendance of 2540 children. High schools also exist both at Bulawayo and Salisbury. The large sum left by Mr. Alfred Beit for the endowment of education in Rhodesia has been a great boon to the country. It is rather surprising that Rhodes's great testament made no provision for Rhodesian development, a somewhat curious omission in view of his relations with the country. Mr. Beit's benefactions have had a most stimulating influence both on education and on railway development, and his generosity is bearing good fruit

to-day. That parents respond readily to the educational facilities brought within their reach is proved by the history of the Eveline Girls' School at Bulawayo, one of the secondary schools financed partly by the Government and partly by the Beit Trustees. The school was opened on July 28, 1910, with 207 pupils, 77 of them in the infants' department. By August 8, eleven days from the opening, the numbers were 240 and the school was overcrowded. By August 22 it was necessary at once to add two more class-rooms. To-day there are 320 children attending the school, and the buildings are again overcrowded. The school fees vary from 15s. to 30s. per term. Greater attention to technical education and domestic training is desirable throughout all the schools in South Africa with which I am acquainted, and Rhodesia is no exception to this rule. There is a tendency for education to be too literary and too theoretical for children whose main business in life is to deal with its practical needs. Children with really marked intellectual qualities should, of course, be provided with every opportunity for developing such talents as they may possess. But so far the system seems more adapted to the needs of the exception than of the rule. Home-making is a very important matter for girls who live in pioneer countries. The standard of comfort and refinement they set is an all-important matter for the future. The influence and example of the right type of European home, too, on the native mind is another side of the question too often ignored. 'Shakespeare and the musical glasses' are pleasant accomplishments and not to be discouraged. But large numbers of children have no taste in that direction, whereas it is very important to teach a girl on a Rhodesian farm the elements which go to make up a good wife and a good mother. After

Standard V it would be a real advantage to institute two necks to the educational bottle—one a literary neck for children whose taste and capacities lie that way, the other a more practical neck of domestic science for girls, and training in such subjects as agriculture, chemistry, and book-keeping for boys.

It is pleasant to notice the pride of the Rhodesians in their schools and the real importance they attach to them. The spirit is a healthy and intelligent one, and shows more than common appreciation for those vital influences which are brought to bear either for weal or woe on the youth of a country. Generally speaking, it may be said the future prospects of Rhodesia are solid if not sensational. It is a beautiful country, and from the agricultural point of view has a great future. If it is far from being the El Dorado of the early dreams of the pioneers, it has won its way to a respectable position among the gold-producing countries of the world. The population, essentially British as they are in character and outlook, are keen, intelligent people full of kindness and hospitality to the stranger within their coasts. They possess a fine asset in their country, and their position and influence are bound to be increasing factors in South African affairs. In the person of Sir William Milton, the Administrator, the Company has had the good fortune to be served by an official the measure of whose influence will best be appreciated whenever the day comes for it to be withdrawn. A silent, rather stern man, he has set a standard of rectitude and uprightness in the conduct of public affairs which have been invaluable to the whole spirit of administration. Whatever storms may arise, they have no power to deflect him from his path. He has had a difficult, often a thankless task; the perpetual repetition of

'no' is a wearisome and uncongenial office, and Sir William Milton has been called upon to say 'no' on a great many occasions. But he is respected from one end of the country to the other for the steadfast, uncompromising manner in which he has met his difficulties, and he has never succumbed in the smallest degree to the fatal error of weak men—the desire to make 'no' appear to be 'yes,' when 'yes' is impossible of fulfilment but 'no' disagreeable of utterance.

Under the original grant of the Charter it was provided that after twenty-five years the administrative clauses should come up for reconsideration and revision : a circumstance which excites great interest and controversy at present in Rhodesia. If a large measure of political unrest is affecting the Union, similar unrest is no less marked north of the Limpopo. I have commented elsewhere in this book on the sacred right to grumble so prevalent in South Africa, and it must be admitted that this same spirit obtains as strongly in Rhodesia as in any other part of the country. The new arrival is seized upon within twenty-four hours of his or her advent by outraged inhabitants, who pour forth a string of grievances against the Company and the dishonour to their manhood of the existing political *régime*. As one is called upon to listen 'down south,' as they say in Rhodesia, to much the same account of the enormities of the Union Government, it is inevitable that one accepts these stories of woe and injustice with considerable reservations in both cases. Constitution making was apparently the principal diversion of the population when I was in Rhodesia at the close of 1912. First one group and then another issued manifestos dealing with the political affairs of the country. A new scheme appeared, so it seemed, every other day, until

Sir William Milton was in the happy position of being able to paper his office, had he so desired, with the instruments of government elaborated by the community. A morning unmarked by the appearance of a fresh constitution seemed flat and stale indeed, even though one was irresistibly reminded of the section in Carlyle's 'French Revolution' termed 'The Age of Paper.' But if these events wore a slightly humorous aspect to the tourist, to the Rhodesians the issues they raised were of a very serious and practical character. To have a chance of changing your form of government is an opportunity which does not occur easily in old and established communities. Little wonder, therefore, that the more enterprising souls in Rhodesia are seized by a spirit of legislative adventure and are anxious for changes of all sorts and kinds.

The actual situation which presents itself in 1914 admits of four alternatives. Rhodesia might acquire responsible government—the creed of one group; she might become a Crown Colony—the creed of another; she might join the Union—the secret creed of a few but not one now openly professed; she might continue, with certain modifications, for another term of years under the Charter—no one's creed in particular but the probable outcome of the present agitation.

To examine these alternatives in detail—the suggestion at this date of Responsible Government may be dismissed as an absurdity. The white population of Southern Rhodesia, 24,000 people scattered over an area of 148,575 square miles, is altogether too small and too sparse to provide the adequate material, political and financial, necessary to conduct the affairs of a self-governing colony. Any such venture would break down of itself and end in legislative fiasco. The case for Crown Colony Government stands on a wholly

different footing, and through such a development the country in course of time must pass. The Lyttelton Constitution as provided for the Transvaal—the Constitution which never came into being—finds much favour among the upholders of the Crown Colony idea, and its merits are warmly advanced by them. The question of joining the Union is one which makes the average Rhodesian almost hysterical with wrath. The racial troubles in the south have created the worst impression in Rhodesia, and a passionate desire to keep clear of the Union and all its ways is at this time practically universal. There remains the fourth alternative—compromise and accommodation with the Charter and the renewal of the present administrative system for a further term of years. Not the least interesting aspect of these various alternatives lies in the fact that through each one of them in time Rhodesia is not unlikely to pass.

At first sight it is a little difficult to understand why there should be so much grumbling and dissatisfaction with the Company, even when the heavy discounts for this universal South African failing have been made. On the face of it the Administration certainly does not seem to have done badly by the country. Within twenty-five years a flourishing and civilised community has been called into existence literally from the bare veld. Towns have sprung up: railways, telegraphs, telephones, electric light, and many of the luxuries as well as the amenities of life are common. The Rhodesian country house in the neighbourhood of Salisbury and Bulawayo has in some cases all the charm and appearance and comfort of a similar home in England. The newcomer in Rhodesia, as in the Union, can only be struck by the high measure of achievement attained and is at a loss to understand

the causes of the existing discontents. It is not very easy to discover the concrete grounds of objection to the Company's rule. The objections are usually made in general terms of distrust and lack of confidence. This indefinite character of the discontent and the lack of concrete examples force the conclusion that the trouble is concerned far more with an unsatisfactory personal equation between the Company and the people than with any abuse by the former of its powers. That this has been the case seems on the whole certain. After Rhodes's death in 1902 the country went through a period of extreme despondency. The man on whose personality the country relied as a house of defence in any trouble was no more. The Board of Directors in London seemed immeasurably remote. Dr. Jameson, to whom failing Rhodes they turned, was, they complained, absorbed with political affairs in the south. Rhodesia, like the unhappy little child in the story-book, was of opinion that no one loved it, and the only possible course was to sit out in the garden and eat woolly worms. Since 1907 matters in this respect have greatly improved. A personal visit which some of the London directors paid to the country during that year, brought the government and the people face to face to their mutual advantage. The personal relationship is now carried out systematically by a succession of visiting directors, and the mutual alienation and ignorance of former years can hardly recur. The chief matters in dispute between the Rhodesians and the Company may be grouped under four heads :—(1) representation, (2) debt, (3) title to land, (4) commercial and administrative assets. In view of the declaration of policy on behalf of the company made by Mr. Rochfort Maguire at Salisbury in March 1913, it cannot be said the Board has shown itself intractable on any of these points.

Rhodesia is governed by an Administrator—appointed by the Company but approved by the Crown—an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council. The Executive Council consists of officials, the Legislative Council of seven elected and five nominated members who legislate by means of ordinances. From such beginnings all colonies start on the path of self-government, greater powers being introduced with the spread of population. The increase of population in Rhodesia has led to the claim for increased popular representation in the Council, a claim which the Company has conceded. In future the Legislative Council is to consist of twelve elected, as against eight nominated, members, an increase which gives greater proportional power to the elected element. By such steps are popular Assemblies built up till they control the Executive itself and the stage of full self-government is reached. The question of the debt was also one most disturbing to the Rhodesian mind when I was in the country. In the event of Crown Colony government being established, would they be saddled with the past deficits of the Company and start life with a public debt? This was the question commonly propounded, and the possibility of such a position was vigorously repudiated. This point the Company have waived and it was stated by Mr. Maguire that no claim would be made for the accumulated deficits upon administration and finance amounting to 7½ millions sterling, which would be regarded 'as part of the cost of acquisition, maintenance, and development of the land and minerals of the Territory.' The question of the debt is closely concerned with that of the ownership of the land—a point round which considerable controversy wages. The Company declare that their title to the land is complete and

unchallengeable; the Anti-Charter section declare that the land belongs to the people. In forgoing any claim for the debt the Company certainly strengthen their hold on the land, for the Rhodesian cannot have it both ways—repudiate the debt and claim the land, which is the attitude not uncommonly taken up. At the same time the Company would be well advised to simplify both their land laws and the whole procedure of land purchase in Rhodesia. There are great and, I think, genuine grievances as to the way large blocks of land are held up by the land companies to the detriment of settlement in general. The taxation of land values is by no means an academic question in South Africa, and some measure of the kind is desirable not only in Rhodesia but in the Union, so that land may not be held up in unproductive idleness while its owner sits by waiting for a rise in price. The formation of a Land Board is pressed for in some quarters. This demand seems to be a very reasonable one, and, if granted, would go a long way to allay friction and discontent.

The question of the commercial and administrative assets raises a large number of irritating points in dispute between the two sides. The Rhodesians complain that government by charter cannot be disinterested, that the interests of the shareholders are necessarily preferred to those of the inhabitants, and that when a company fulfils both administrative and commercial functions, the commercial side will obtain a variety of advantages at the expense of the administrative. A definite division therefore is demanded of assets which come to the Company as a government, and those which it earns as a commercial undertaking, so that the one should not benefit at the expense of the other. Here again the Company has made

concessions. The revenue on the two sides is to be separated henceforth as far as practicable, and the Company is to pay taxes from its commercial branch in future as any other trading body in the country would do. In the light of these concessions therefore the whole question of the political stocktaking in 1914 assumes a somewhat different aspect. The main grounds of complaint against the Company, save the important question of the land—which after all will not run away—have been adjusted in favour of the community. There remain certain general complaints which exist of inefficiency here and there in administration, of indifference to the concerns of the country, and of a tendency to make promises which are not carried out or are delayed till they can be safely pigeon-holed. As against this it may be said that the real mistake of the Company has been the extent to which it has spoon-fed the population; that money has been poured out like water for a host of experiments no ordinary Government would dream of undertaking; that Rhodesia grumbles, not because it is misgoverned, but because it has been spoilt; and that since the interests of the community and those of the shareholders must be one and the same—inasmuch as dividends depend on national prosperity—it is absurd to suggest that administration is sacrificed to commerce.

In this instance, as in many others in South Africa, the truth probably lies in the mean between these two extremes. No one acquainted with South Africa will take any long string of complaints quite literally; at heart, the grumblers themselves would be surprised if their statements were accepted without qualification. The practical question before Rhodesia is how she may best ensure her future during the next decade. The instinct which makes many people in the country

desire the status of a Crown Colony is certainly not one to be regarded with any lack of sympathy by an English person. It was striking to hear how certain Rhodesians spoke of the Imperial Government and the absolute confidence they felt in its justice and impartiality. The only reservation one made on that score was the curiously different attitude assumed towards the Imperial Government 'down South,' where abuse of its methods is apt to be plentiful. 'I would rather have the Crown, the obstinate unthinking Crown, than any Board of Directors charm they never so wisely.' So I was told on one occasion by a thoughtful Rhodesian, and I was loath to discourage my friend's admiration for the abstract sovereignty of the Empire by certain reservations in my own mind as to the rôles of King Stork and King Log so far as Downing Street and London Wall were concerned. But the feeling for the Crown displayed in Rhodesia of late is certainly a valuable sentiment, and the last one which any believer in the wider citizenship of the Empire would seek to discourage, even though certain thankless suspicions cross the mind as to whether this sudden affection for Downing Street is inspired by admiration for the Empire, or the desire to be rid of the Company at any cost. To the status of a Crown Colony Rhodesia must assuredly attain on her progress towards complete legislative independence. Government by Chartered Company, it must be admitted, is, in the abstract, a curiously unsatisfactory form of rule, and one which no one could desire to see stereotyped. Questions and disputes must constantly arise as between the commercial and the administrative sides. The governing body must always be an easy target for charges as to their sacrifice of administrative efficiency

to commercial gain. Government by Chartered Company may have undoubted advantages in the pioneer days of opening up a new area for settlement. It is less bound by precedent and red tape than Imperial administration; it can make more experiments; it pushes work forward with more rapidity. But as time goes on it becomes less happy in its administrative faculty. A great trading corporation cannot usefully fulfil the functions of government when the white population grows in numbers, and the phase of personal rule comes to an end. Administration must then be vested in other hands. For Rhodesia therefore it is merely a question of times and seasons and the best moment at which to make the change.

The further question then presents itself as to whether that best moment has arrived. In view of the concessions recently made by the Company, the balance of argument appears to be in favour of a continuation of the present state of affairs, anyway for the next ten years—the reconsideration of the Charter being decennial after 1914. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that what the country most needs at this moment is not political upheaval but economic development. Africa from the Cape to the Zambesi is calling out at present for more work and less talk. ‘Back chat’ is the curse of the country at present. Rhodesia’s first concern should be, not constitution-making, but her own increase of strength in population, commerce, and revenue. Her game for the time being, viewed from any broad standpoint, should be a waiting one. Many questions and problems are in a state of flux south of her in the Union. The influence she will be able to exercise ultimately in South Africa will be proportionate to the strength of the hand she is able to play, and for

the moment she needs to strengthen that hand by the vigorous development of her resources. The Chartered Company are probably fully alive to the grumbling of which I have spoken. The capable and shrewd men who sit on its Board must realise the importance of doing away with such real causes of complaint as exist. From the point of view of the people, the stronger the population the more effectually will they be able to stand up to the Board when the day of reckoning comes. There is, after all, no question of the disappearance of the Company as a Company—a point of which many people seem to lose sight. The position of the inhabitants, therefore, composing a small Crown Colony, faced by a powerful commercial undertaking towering head and shoulders over every other concern in the land, and entirely relieved from any administrative responsibility, would not seem a happy one. Granted good and efficient administration, there is really very little difference between the present status of Rhodesia and that of a Crown Colony. It is rather difficult to see at this moment what she would gain by the change. Her business for the present should be not agitation but an increase of strength so that she may talk on even terms when occasion rises either with Pretoria or with London Wall. There is much to be said at present for putting aside abstract theories about the rights of men, and pushing commercial and agricultural development. South Africa of late has had a surfeit of political controversy. A change of constitution in Rhodesia would mean a fresh element of disturbance cast into the seething pot; would set on foot a fresh series of agitations, and discussions, and intrigues. Time is the solvent of many of her difficulties, and all agitation which has as its result the rousing of racial and other

controversies from the slumbers in which sensible people must desire to see them repose, is to be deprecated. One thing is certain: the longer those questions are left in peace the more complete will be their final solution. Marking time, as the phrase goes, is not a very exhilarating proceeding, but there are moments at which it may be a wise policy, and at this juncture it would appear to be a wise policy for Rhodesia. In ten years' time the whole situation in South Africa may have changed profoundly, and by that period Rhodesia will be much better fitted to judge the character of the changes she should make than in the present confused state of public opinion. A renewal of the Charter for the next ten years gives her breathing space and time to look round, and to mark the solution of events elsewhere.

It is impossible to hazard a conjecture for how many years, after that period, Rhodesia might find it well to maintain a position of complete legislative independence under either representative or responsible government. But sooner or later the question of her organic relationship to the rest of South Africa is bound to arise: the suit of which I spoke in the opening sentences of this chapter will force itself again on her notice. Africa south of the Zambesi, as we have all seen all along, is one land. The dry bed of the Limpopo river separating Rhodesia from the Union, separates nothing racially, geographically, climatically. That Rhodes's ultimate dream for the country which bears his name was to see her part of a great united British South Africa, there is of course no question. But Union has come wearing a somewhat different aspect from what he contemplated, and the emphasis on the Dutch note has thoroughly alarmed the Rhodesians. They cling very naturally and rightly to the essentially

English character of the country, to the freedom from racial and language questions, to the greater simplicity of administration and education, thanks to the absence of the bilingual incubus. Above everything else they fear to jeopardise these real and undoubted advantages by being forced against their will into the orbit of the Union. That any such pressure would be exercised is an impossibility. The idle talk of the Chartered Company selling the population over their own heads in a comprehensive deal with the Union Government may be dismissed as an absurdity. No such disposal, indeed no radical change of any kind in the government of the country, could be attempted or effected against the will of the people themselves. They and they alone—and very properly so—in the ultimate issue will be the arbiters of their own destiny. There is no question therefore of forcing the pace as regards the relations of Rhodesia with the Union; indeed the Union, for the moment at any rate, repudiates the desire to add Rhodesia to its burdens as emphatically as Rhodesia repudiates any closer tie with the Union. At the time of the Convention the idea was certainly in the air; and granted suitable terms, the Union Government doubtless would have lent a willing ear to the suggestion of taking over the country. Since then, however, the position has changed. Rhodesia has drawn much farther away; the Union has its hands full to overflowing with its own affairs, and for the moment has no ambitions whatever to extend its sphere of operations farther north. Nevertheless the question is bound to arise again, even though years may pass before it becomes a pressing one. That Rhodesia should set before her eyes the deliberate ideal of the evolution of a British dominion always distinct and

apart from the Union, seems to me a mistaken one, and an ideal far remote from the purpose of the founder. Any such separation in the long run will be as mischievous as the separatist existence of the Republics prior to the war. Despite the thoroughly British character of Rhodesia, there is no hard-and-fast line of racial demarcation between her population and that further south. Both the Union and Rhodesia are confronted by identical problems; both have common difficulties to meet. The white races in South Africa are a small minority facing a preponderating black population; drought, pestilence, disease, are common burdens which compel co-operation at every point. That two countries so situated should seek to work out separate national existences on diverse, and even hostile, lines would be a calamity for South Africa as a whole. However potent political friction in the present, it must be the hope of all right-minded people that, as years go by, conditions in the Union itself may change to a degree which will dispel all the legitimate fears Rhodesia at present may entertain. Deliberately and without adequate cause to play the part over again of Newfoundland would be a position unworthy of Rhodes's spirit and tradition. That Rhodesia ultimately may not hold aloof from the larger corporate life of the Union is to be desired in her own interests no less than in those of South Africa as a whole. But it is no less clear that the moment for such a change has not yet come. When and if Rhodesia joins the Union, it must in truth and in fact be a question of union, not of absorption. It is altogether undesirable that she should throw in her lot with the south until her own numbers and political strength give her an adequate voice in the conduct of public affairs. Standing as she does in a

very special way for the English aspect of government in South Africa, it is important she should be in a position to give that aspect its due place and weight. Similarly, the Union must realise that, so long as racial strife is allowed to run riot within its jurisdiction and there is any question of unfairness or favouritism in government, it is quite unreasonable to expect Rhodesia to forgo her present advantages. If suspicion and unrest were to persist in the south, Rhodesia would be amply justified in retaining her immunity from many irritating problems which distract her neighbour. Time will help, however, in this direction as elsewhere. When the Union of South Africa has been consolidated in the spirit of the Convention, there will be nothing in the aspect then presented by the South African nation to cause Rhodesia anxiety as to a future bound up with such a country. As we have seen elsewhere, all fuller national life involves the sacrifice of certain individual characteristics, which have to be yielded up in order to arrive at a broader whole. Rhodesia will have to make her sacrifice when the day comes, but she has in turn a right to demand from the Union that such a sacrifice should be made for a worthy end. It is the business of the Union therefore to create and maintain a type of national life, strong, free, and self-respecting, which in the end will win Rhodesia to its side; not reluctantly, not unwillingly, not with mutual bargaining and distrust, but in that free and generous surrender which is always the mark not of the weak but of the strong.

‘And if I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired: but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto. And here shall be an end.’

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